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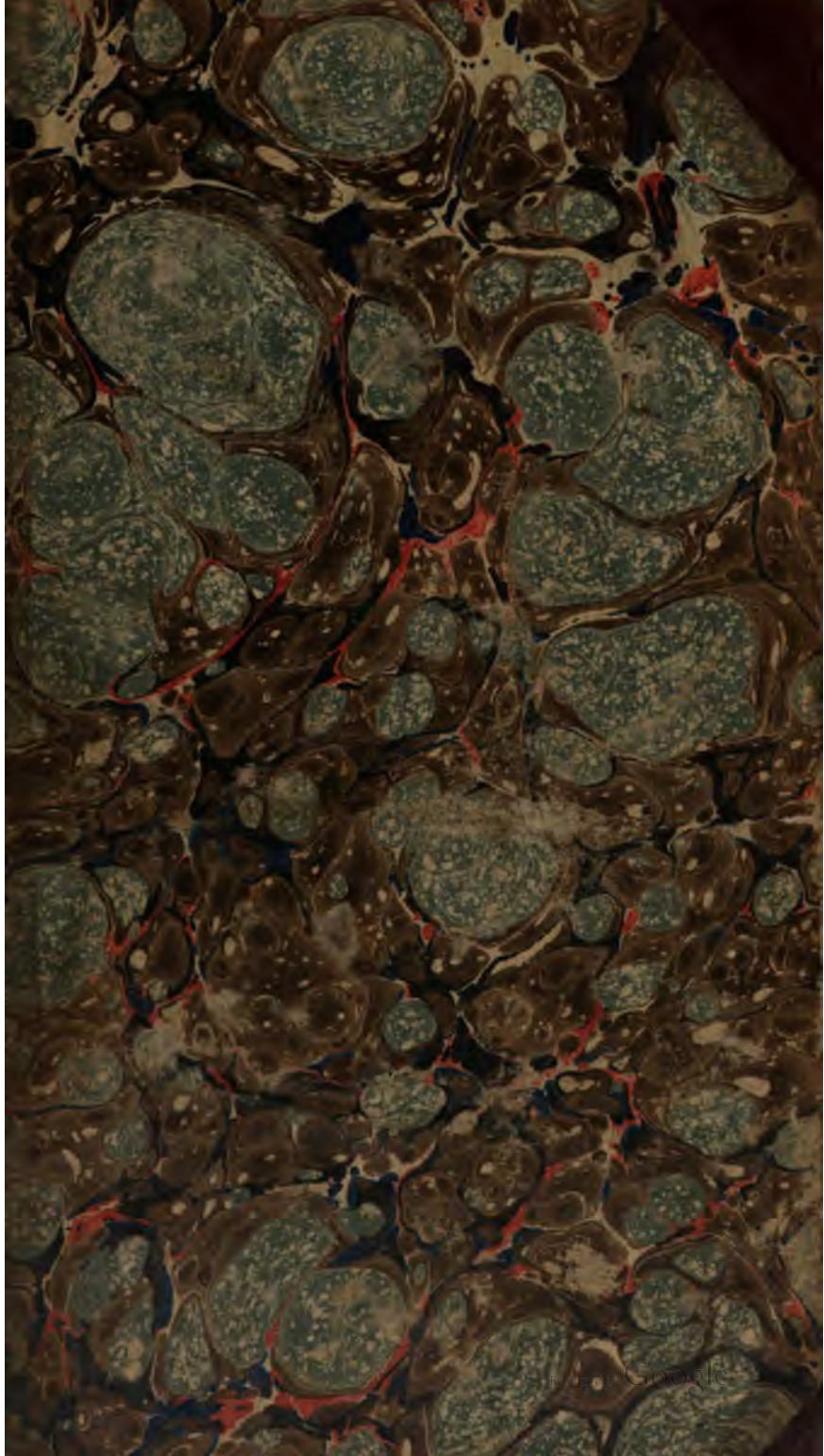
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ALEXANDER,  
*Emperor of Russia.*

**HISTORY**  
**OF THE**  
**FRENCH REVOLUTION**  
**AND OF**  
**THE WARS**  
*RESULTING FROM THAT MEMORABLE EVENT.*  
**COMPREHENDING**  
**THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY ANNALS OF EUROPE,**  
**FROM THE**  
*Meeting of the States General at Versailles, in 1789,*  
**TO THE**  
**BATTLE OF WATERLOO,**  
**AND THE**  
**SECOND SURRENDER OF PARIS.**

**COLLECTED FROM THE BEST AUTHORITIES,**

**BY**

**JOHN JAMES M'GREGOR :**

**AND EMBELLISHED WITH PORTRAITS, MAPS, AND PLANS.**

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His artifices are infinite: his celerity is beyond belief: he is all at once encamped with an army in some place before even its march is known; and that army is commanded by a man devoured by the most insatiable ambition.

DE PAUW.

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**VOL. IX.**

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**1823**



# BOOK VII.

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## *THE EMPIRE.*

### CHAPTER XV.

Arbitrary proceedings of Murat at Madrid—Agitated state of the Populace—Sanguinary Tumults—Dreadful Massacre perpetrated by the French Troops—Heroism of Doaiz and Velarde, two Spanish Officers.—Murat compels the Supreme Junta to interfere for the suppression of the Commotions—Don Antonio is sent off to France, and Murat is appointed President of the Junta.—Annunciation of Napoleon's intention to fix his Brother Joseph on the Throne of Spain.—He issues an Address to the Spanish Nation, and assembles a Meeting of Notables at Bayonne.—Intrepid Answers of the Bishops of St. Andero and Orense.—Base Servility of some of the Spanish Grandees.—The Assembly swears Allegiance to Joseph Bonaparte.—Murat is proclaimed King of Naples.—Situation of the excluded Royal Family.—The Usurper enters Madrid.—General Insurrection throughout the Provinces.—The Marquis de Solano, Governor of Cadiz, and other Traitors are put to death.—Formation of Juntas in the different Provinces.—The People are called on to assert their Independence by the most energetic Proclamations.—Armed Associations.—Seville is appointed the Seat of the Supreme Government—Ferdinand VII. is proclaimed King,

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and War declared against the Emperor Napoleon.—Proclamation issued by the Supreme Junta.—Spanish Deputies are sent to England—Enthusiasm of the British Nation in favour of the Spanish Cause.—Cessation of Hostilities between Great Britain and Spain.

**W**HILE Napoleon was successfully employed at Bayonne, in executing that part of the plot which had reference to the Royal Family of Spain, his active lieutenant Murat was no less indefatigable at Madrid, in adopting measures calculated to strike terror into the minds of the Junta and the inhabitants. As if desirous to force the people to insurrection, that he might have an opportunity of commencing the work of slaughter, he used every means in his power to make them feel that they were no longer an independent nation, but that they must learn obedience to a military yoke. A French governor was appointed, French patrols were established, and contributions exacted for the use of the troops. A point to which Murat particularly directed his attention was to obtain the control of the Junta, to which Ferdinand had entrusted the administration of affairs, when he set out for Bayonne; and, as a most effectual method to mould them to his purpose, he found means in general to intercept the instructions which their Sovereign sent them, so that they were for some time left without specific directions how to act, under the extraordinary circumstances in which they were placed. Cevallos, however, contrived

at length to send them a royal order, directing them to execute such measures as they might consider necessary for the service of the King and Nation. Further instructions were soon afterwards transmitted, by which Ferdinand ordered them to commence hostilities, as soon as they received intelligence that he was forced from Bayonne into the interior of France; and, as he found himself deprived of liberty, he directed them to assemble the Cortes in some secure situation, and that they should at first occupy themselves exclusively in attending to the levies and subsidies necessary for the protection of the kingdom. But although these instructions arrived safe in Madrid, and were delivered into the hands of one of the members of the Junta, yet they were never laid before the Council; Murat having by this time gained over the majority to the interest of Napoleon.

Various rumours, which were circulated respecting the treatment experienced by Ferdinand at Bayonne, had for some time kept the people of Madrid in a state of great alarm and agitation. On Saturday, the 30th of April, great crowds assembled at the gate of the Sun, and in other streets near the post-office, anxiously looking for the arrival of a courier who was expected from Bayonne. The messenger not arriving, the crowds continued on the 1st of May, a silent inquietude seemed generally to prevail, and it became evident, that a storm of the most dreadful kind was gathering in every quarter of the capital. Murat

passed about noon through the midst of his great guard by the gate of the Sun, accompanied by the hisses, shouts, and insults of the populace, which were considered as a signal of defiance for the combat, which their oppressors were not unwilling to accept, and that night the whole French garrison continued under arms.

The sun of the 2d of May arose on many an unfortunate Spaniard, who was destined never to behold another morning. That day had been fixed upon for the departure of the Queen of Etruria, and her brother Don Francisco de Paula, for Bayonne, whither Murat had also ordered Don Antonio, the King's uncle and President of the Junta, to repair, but that prince steadily refused to quit his post. In consequence of this firmness, some troops which had left Madrid were recalled, and rumours being spread that Murat intended to seize the person of the Infant, and make himself Regent, the people determined upon resistance. A report being spread that one of the carriages which was brought out was intended for Don Antonio, the populace cut the traces, and forced it back into the palace-yard. On being assured, however, that this prince was not to leave Madrid, they suffered the other carriages to proceed with the Queen of Etruria and her brother, a youth of fourteen. The latter manifesting great unwillingness to depart, and even shedding tears, the people became both affected and enraged, and swore they would no longer submit to the tyranny

of the French. At this moment, an aid-du-camp of Murat arrived to know the cause of the tumult, who was rescued from popular fury by the interference of some Spanish officers. He quickly returned with a party of French soldiers, whom he ordered to fire upon one of the groups, and many persons were killed, including some women and children. The scene of carnage now began, the people flocking from every quarter to avenge the murder of their friends and fellow-citizens. The Spanish troops were locked up in their barracks, to prevent them from joining their countrymen; but, notwithstanding the people were thus destitute of support, and without arms or leaders, they evinced a degree of spirit and intrepidity that has never been surpassed. Armed with stones, clubs, &c. they fell upon their oppressors wherever they could find them in small parties. Numbers of the French fell in this way—their arms were seized by the populace, and a peaceful city was suddenly turned into a field of battle. Their triumph, however, was but short, for what could a half-armed populace do, without plans or leaders, against sixty thousand French troops, who were stationed in the city and its vicinity? These poured in on all sides with their flying artillery, which, by repeated discharges of grape-shot, cleared the streets and squares, while the unfortunate people were cut down in various directions by the cavalry. Flying to the houses for shelter, the wretched fugitives were pursued and bayoneted

by their sanguinary oppressors, parties of cavalry, at the same time, occupying the outlets, to prevent the possibility of escape. The chief scenes of slaughter were the great street of Alcala, the Puerto del Sol, and the Great Square; but the defence of the park of artillery in Casa de Monteleone, was rendered for ever memorable by the heroic devotedness of a few brave men. Of this place two artillery-officers, named Doaiz and Velarde, with about twenty of their corps, and a few armed citizens, had taken possession. These gallant officers placed a twenty-four pounder at the gate of the park, fronting a narrow street, while two other pieces were placed at the end of two other streets parallel to the former. Perceiving a detachment of two hundred men advancing to attack the park, they waited till the enemy approached very near, when they discharged their guns with such dreadful effect, that the French commandant was forced to retire and send for a reinforcement. Two fresh columns, consisting of more than two thousand men, speedily arrived to the assistance of their companions; and, after a vain attempt in front, they took possession of the surrounding houses, from the windows and roofs of which they kept up an incessant fire. The brave Spaniards, however, continued to defend the post, till Velarde was killed by a musket-ball; and Doaiz having his thigh shattered, continued to give his orders till he received three other wounds, the last of which

terminated his glorious career, and decided the contest in this quarter. "Martyrs of the liberty of your country!" says Alvaro Florez Estrada, "the hearts of all your fellow-citizens will offer eternal holocausts to your manes, and pronounce your names to their children, that they may hold you in everlasting remembrance, as models of virtue and heroism. Without any other commands than those which were dictated by honour alone, and destitute of all hopes of aid, you swore, and you fulfilled your oath, to die rather than consent that those warlike engines, which had been formed for your defence, should become instruments of death to your fellow-citizens. You knew that you would become the first victims of liberty, but you hesitated not to sacrifice yourselves as examples to those who came after, and you left a land which was not worthy of souls like yours."

Murat observing the calm intrepidity with which the people of Madrid opposed him, now found it necessary to resort to other means to appease the insurrection. He held out a menace to the Supreme Junta, that if they did not use their influence for this purpose, he would give up the whole city to plunder and massacre. In obedience to this command, the Council of Castile and other tribunals paraded the streets on horseback, attended by many of the Spanish nobility, and some of the French Generals, and escorted by bodies of horse, consisting of Spanish Gardes-du-Corps and French Imperial Guards intermixed. This had

the intended effect—the firing ceased about two o'clock, and the people fondly flattered themselves that the scene of slaughter was at an end; but they soon found that the object of the sanguinary Murat was to substitute for it a more deliberate, and, to himself and his troops, a safer system of vengeance. Though he had promised to the Junta, that, if they succeeded in restoring tranquillity, he would punish no person for any thing that had occurred, yet that very afternoon he ordered a military commission to be formed, under the presidency of General Grouchy, before which all persons were brought who had been made prisoners in the morning, or who appeared in the streets in the evening with any sort of weapon, however trifling, about them. To procure victims, bodies of troops paraded the streets, and domiciliary visits were executed to discover those who had arms in their houses. All who were thus unfortunate, were dragged before the bloody tribunal, without regard to age, situation, or circumstances. The husband was dragged from the arms of his wife, and the son from his hoary parents. The resident of Madrid, and the unsuspecting traveller, who had entered the city, wholly ignorant of the sad events of the day, became alike the victims of his remorseless fury. Executions instantly followed the mock-trials that took place, and to strike the greater terror into the inhabitants, the church of the Solidad, in the most frequented part of the city, was chosen as the fittest place for the horrible

exhibition. Here the first hundred victims were immolated, whose dying groans were heard in the adjoining houses. Above six hundred were conducted to the gate of St. Vincente and the Prado, where they were sacrificed in groups of thirty or forty at solemn intervals during the night, the melancholy stillness of which was only interrupted by the thunder of the cannon, and the cries of the wretched sufferers. During the whole of this dreadful scene, the inhabitants were forced to illuminate their houses, for the safety of their oppressors, so that the dead and dying might be seen, as in broad noon-day, lying on the bloody pavement. Other executions followed on the 3d, and the monster, glorying in his ferocious cruelty, would not permit the dead bodies to be buried for two days, but left them exposed to public view, in order that he might let the Spaniards see the effects of his resentment, and inspire them with a terror of his power. This is but a faint picture of the horrible cruelties practised by Murat on the inhabitants of the Spanish capital, and thus did he sport with the lives and liberties of an independent people, under the pretext of regenerating the country; yet when, a few years after, this human tyger met the death he had so long merited, there were not wanting some noisy brawlers about liberty, who, in direct opposition to their own professed principles, were not ashamed to advocate his cause, and commiserate his misfortunes.

Having thus satiated his vengeance, Murat determined to strengthen by artifice the authority which force had put into his hands. Don Antonio was sent off to join the remainder of his unfortunate family at Bayonne, and the obsequious Junta appointed Murat their president. Having, as he supposed, broken the spirit of the people, he now adopted measures to soothe them; and, in a proclamation issued on the 5th of May, he declared that their tranquillity would from henceforth be unalterable. He suppressed Grouchy's bloody tribunal, and ordered that in future every accused person should be tried only by his proper judges. An order which had been issued against wearing (cloaks the favourite dress of the Spaniards) was rescinded, and the vexations to which carriers employed in bringing provisions to town had been subjected were removed. The degraded Junta now united with the murderer of their fellow-citizens in enslaving their unhappy country, and the Inquisition, which has been at once the disgrace and the ruin of every country where it has been established, lent its aid towards the degradation and destruction of Spain. In a circular letter, addressed by this body to all its subordinate tribunals, the efforts made by the oppressed inhabitants of Madrid to shake off the corroding yoke of foreign tyranny was styled a disgraceful tumult, and they called on them to use their influence as ministers of the gospel of Jesus Christ, to prevent such proceedings for the time to come,

and to exercise hospitality and attention towards friendly officers and soldiers, who injured no one, but who had preserved the most rigorous discipline. The aid of the unhappy and imbecile Charles was also called in to repress the rising spirit of the nation, and, in the last act to which he affixed his hand and seal before his abdication, he declared that he considered all who attempted to oppose his natural ally, the Emperor of the French, as the enemies of Spain and the agents of the English, who only looked forward to the possession of the Spanish colonies by fomenting divisions in the mother country. Another paper was also issued, said to have been signed (though with little appearance of probability,) by Ferdinand and the other Infants, exhorting the Spaniards to peace and tranquillity, and advising them to look for their future happiness to the power and wise arrangements of the Emperor Napoleon.

Having made these necessary arrangements, Murat intimated to the Junta the design of his master to place his brother Joseph on the throne of Spain. He procured without difficulty an address on the subject from the traitorous assembly, in which they declared with the most abject sycophancy, that the resignation of the throne was the greatest proof of kindness that their late sovereign had ever conferred upon the Spanish nation. They ascribed to his Imperial Majesty the power of foreseeing all things, and rejoiced in the choice he had made of a prince to govern them who had

been educated in his own great school. A new family compact was about to unite Spain still closer to its natural ally, and the Spanish monarchy to resume the rank which belonged to it among the powers of Europe. The throne itself called for his Majesty's eldest brother to govern Spain, and nature confirmed this happy arrangement which corresponded so well with the sentiments of reverence and admiration, with which the actions of this prince had inspired them. The Council of Castile was implicated in the shame of this address; the Archbishop of Toledo laid his assurances of homage, reverence, and fidelity at the feet of the Emperor, and desired, as one of his Majesty's most dutiful subjects, to be instructed in his high purposes that he might be furnished with the means of manifesting his unfeigned and zealous submission. Even for the city of Madrid a similar address was framed, though the graves were yet scarcely dug for those that were massacred, the places of execution were still covered with flakes of blood, and almost every house resounded with the groans and imprecations of mothers, widows, and orphans, imploring vengeance on the inhuman murderer of their dearest relatives.

Exulting in his success in having thus, either by terror or artifice, obtained the sanction of the principal constituted authorities, Napoleon proceeded to the completion of his atrocious project. On the 19th of May, he issued a proclamation for convening an Assembly of Notables,

to be held at Bayonne on the 15th of June, for the purpose of framing a Constitution for the future government of Spain. This assembly was to consist of one hundred and fifty members, chosen by Murat himself. From a body thus delegated, and who were to meet under the eye of the oppressor of their country, it was not difficult to foresee the result. A few days after Napoleon issued an address to the Spanish nation, replete with expressions of regard for their interests, which he would persuade them to believe was the only motive which led him to adopt his present line of conduct. "Spaniards," said he, "after a long, lingering disease, your nation sunk into decay. I have seen your sufferings; I will relieve them. Your greatness makes a part of mine. Your princes have ceded to me all their rights to the Spanish crown. I will not reign over your provinces, but I will acquire an eternal right to the love and gratitude of your posterity. Your monarchy is old; it must be renovated; and I desire that you may enjoy the blessings of a renovation which shall not be purchased by civil war and desolation. Spaniards! I have convened a general assembly of the deputies of your provinces and towns, that I may know your desires and wants. I shall lay down my rights, and place your illustrious crown on the head of one who resembles me: securing you a Constitution, which will unite the salutary power of the Sovereign with the liberties and rights of the Spanish nation.

It is my will that my memory shall be blessed by your latest posterity, and that they shall say, 'he was the restorer of our country.' " Soon after the publication of this address, Napoleon declared his brother Joseph King of Spain and the Indies, guaranteeing to him the integrity and independence of his states in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America.

Though one hundred and fifty deputies were summoned to attend the Convention of Notables, not more than ninety obeyed the mandate of the despot, the remainder excusing themselves under various pretexts. To an invitation sent to the Bishop of St. Andero to attend, that prelate sent the following laconic answer: "I cannot make it convenient to attend; and if I could, I would not." The venerable Bishop of Orense, who was also chosen a deputy to the Notables, sent a letter to Murat, which was widely circulated throughout Spain, and presented a combination of the purest morality, the most accurate reasoning, and an exquisite vein of irony, which might almost be termed sublime. He did not seem to question the sincerity of Napoleon's views, but assuming an air of implicit belief in all his professions for the welfare of Spain, he virtually condemned and exposed his unprincipled aggressions towards his unfortunate country. Even amongst those who obeyed the summons, some were found, who proved themselves to be zealous defenders of the honor and interests of their

country, and who declared with one voice that they were not the legitimate representatives of Spain, and that they could not compromise the rights and liberties of their country. Others, however, were found there of a different description, who, on the arrival of Joseph Bonaparte at Bayonne, waited upon him, and expressed their lively joy at presenting themselves before his royal person, and ascribed to him all the sublime qualities by which thrones are supported and strengthened. Amongst the many common-place remarks contained in the reply of the puppet-king, one alone deserved particular observation, namely, that he considered the worship of God as the basis of all morality, and of general prosperity: *that other countries allowed of different forms of religion, but that he considered it as the felicity of Spain, that she had but one, and that the true one!*" This excited considerable surprize and confusion amongst the admirers of Napoleon, who were continually expatiating on the wisdom and liberality of his conduct with respect to religion, and who had confidently predicted that one of the first evils which he intended to overthrow in this country was the intolerant spirit of the Spanish church. But the flexibility of his religious principles became now fully apparent, and he who professed Islamism in Egypt, could with equal facility assume the character of a good catholic in Spain.

The National Assembly, as it was ridiculously termed, commenced its sittings on the 7th of June, and after deliberating for about a month, a new Constitution was produced, differing but little from those forms of government which the wisdom of Napoleon had formed for his other vassal states. The 7th of July was appointed for its acceptance by the intrusive King, who, seated on a throne, addressed the assembly in a speech replete with expressions of regard for the happiness of the people whom he was destined to govern, and assurances of the speedy revival of their prosperity. The degraded assembly immediately swore allegiance to the new government, and a ministry was formed by the newly created Sovereign. Urquijo was made Secretary of State; Cevallos, (who is supposed to have accepted the office from other motives than attachment to the usurper) Minister for Foreign Affairs; Azanza, Minister for the Indies; Massaredo, Minister of the Marine; O'Farrell, Minister of War; Jovellanos, Minister of the Interior; Cabarrus, Minister of Finance, and Pinuela, Minister of Justice. A few days previous to this event, Joseph had resigned the crown of Naples, which Napoleon conferred on Murat as a compensation for his faithful services, and he was accordingly proclaimed by the title of Joachim Napoleon, by the Grace of God, King of the Two Sicilies and Grand Admiral of the Empire.

The royal visitors, who had so long honoured Bayonne with their presence, now departed for their respective destinations. The excluded family had long before been sent into the interior of France. Charles and his Queen arrived at Fontainebleau on the 20th of May, where he was immediately accommodated with a complete hunting-equipage, Napoleon appearing to think the amusements of the chase more suitable to his capacity than the art of government. They were soon after removed to Compeigne, where the Prince of Peace also occasionally resided. The Queen of Etruria and her son were placed under proper superintendence at St. Mendez, near Paris; and Ferdinand, with his brother and uncle, was sent to Valencay, a small town in the province of Berri, where they were securely lodged in a castle belonging to Talleyrand. Napoleon having, as he believed, brought his iniquitous project to a prosperous conclusion, returned to Paris, and Joseph set out to take possession of the capital of his dominions.

Joseph Bonaparte entered Spain on the 9th of July, escorted by a guard of four thousand Italian troops, and followed by his suite, and the members of the Bayonne Junta, in upwards of one hundred coaches. Except where the presence of French troops extorted the forms of rejoicing, a sullen and prophetic silence accompanied the usurper's progress, and the military procession moved onwards to the capital more like a hostile

army than a royal train. He entered Madrid on the 20th of July, and was immediately proclaimed. No demonstrations of joy appeared, except such as were procured by authority; and the houses were just sufficiently decorated to preserve them from the penalties to which they would otherwise have been exposed. The money scattered among the populace lay in the streets untouched by them, and in the evening the theatres, which were thrown open to the people, were filled only by Frenchmen.

The usurper soon had reason to perceive that the crown he had acquired was likely to prove a crown of thorns, and that the throne upon which he had been seated by such atrocious means, already began to totter. The Spaniards had for a considerable time been in a state of insurrection against their oppressors; and though this was despised by Napoleon, and the traitorous sycophants who fawned upon him, as a mere ebullition of phrenzy in a people ignorant of their true interests, which would quickly subside or be suppressed, yet it soon assumed an appearance of strength and consistency which struck terror into their guilty minds. Intelligence of the inhuman massacre at Madrid, and the iniquitous transactions at Bayonne, had flown on rapid wings from province to province, and the people, as if by an instantaneous impulse, took up arms all over the Peninsula. Though deprived of their lawful sovereign and his family, and abandoned by those

nobles and statesmen, to whom they might naturally look up for guidance and direction; and though the enemy occupied their capital, their fortresses, and the frontier passes, while the flower of the Spanish army was in the north of Europe; yet, under all these appalling disadvantages, the Spanish nation rose in universal insurrection against the mightiest military power that ever yet existed, and a spirit of patriotism burst forth which astonished all Europe.

The people of Asturias, whose ancestors had, at the period of the Arabian invasion, saved by their valour the remains of the Spanish monarchy, gave upon the present occasion the first glorious example of resistance to foreign tyranny. Galicia and Leon soon caught the patriotic flame, which spread with the rapidity of lightning to every quarter of the kingdom. The crew of a French ship was massacred at Malaga, during a paroxysm of popular phrenzy, and the governors of Carthagena, Valencia, and Badajoz, who had espoused the French interest, met a similar fate. Insurrections also took place at Cuenca, in Estremadura, and the two Castiles; and at Cadiz the people rose against their governor, Lieutenant-General Solano, who had fulminated the most terrible menaces against all who held correspondence with the English. He was seized by the indignant populace, and dragged from his palace, but even at this critical moment he seemed to glory in a base devotedness to the oppressor of

his country, by exclaiming that he was ready to die in the cause of the great Napoleon, upon which an indignant patriot, with one blow of a club, dashed out his brains. In Arragon the standard of revolt was erected by Don Joseph Palafox, the youngest of three brothers of one of the most distinguished families in that country. He was now in his thirty-fourth year, had spent a considerable part of his life in the Spanish guards, and at the revolution at Aranjuez was second in command under the Marquis de Castellar. He accompanied Ferdinand to Bayonne, from whence he escaped in the disguise of a peasant to his country-seat near Saragossa, where the traitorous governor of Arragon, Guiliamah, seized him and threw him into prison, but he was quickly delivered by the people, and chosen their leader by acclamation. Though he could muster but 220 regular troops, while the neighbouring provinces of Navarre and Catalonia were possessed by the enemy, the brave Palafox declared war against the French; and, in a proclamation distinguished for its intrepid boldness, he declared that he held the French Emperor and every individual of his family responsible for the safety of Ferdinand, his brother, and uncle; that all the acts of the present government were null and void; and that no quarter would be given to the French army, should they commit murder, robbery, or devastation in any part of the kingdom.

Juntas were now formed in every province, who, acting in the name of Ferdinand, were to adopt measures for the deliverance of their country from the yoke of foreigners. They commenced their proceedings by issuing proclamations which must animate, with the most refined patriotism, the breasts of their latest descendants. They called upon the Spanish nation to avenge the massacre of their murdered brethren, to remember their fathers, to defend their wives and sisters, and to transmit their inheritance of independence to their children. They reminded them how Pelayo, with the mountaineers of Asturias, laid the foundation of the Spanish monarchy, and began that war against the Moors, which his posterity continued for seven hundred years, till they had rooted out the last of the invaders. They reminded them of the Cid, Ruydiez de Bivar, how, when the Emperor claimed authority over Spain, and a Council of Castile, where the King himself presided, discussed his pretensions, the hero refused to deliberate on such a demand, saying, that the independence of Spain was established above all title; that no true Spaniard would suffer it to be brought in question; that it should be upheld with their lives; and that he declared himself the enemy of any man, who should advise the King to derogate in one point from the honour of their free country! They reminded them of the baseness, the perfidy, and the cruelty, which they had already experienced from

that proud and treacherous tyrant, who arrogates (said they) to himself the title of Arbiter of Destinies, because he has succeeded in oppressing the French nation, without recollecting that he himself is mortal, and that he only holds the power delegated to him for our chastisement. Had he not, under the faith of treaties, drawn away their soldiers to the Baltic? Had he not, in the character of a friend and ally, marched his troops into the very capital, and made himself master of the frontier fortresses, then robbed them of their King, and the whole of their Royal Family, and usurped their government? What if they perished in resisting those barbarians? "It is better," said they, to die in defence of your religion and independence, and upon your own native soil, than to be led bound to slaughter, and waste your blood for the aggrandizement of his ambition. The French conscription comprises you. If you do not serve your country, you will be forced away to perish in the North. We lose nothing; for even should we fail, we shall have freed ourselves by a glorious death from the intolerable burden of a foreign yoke. What greater atrocities would the worst savages have perpetrated, than those which the ruffians of this tyrant had committed? They have profaned our temples,—they have massacred our brethren,—they have assailed our wives;—more than two thousand of the people of Madrid, of that city where they had been so hospitably received, they

have murdered in cold blood, for no other cause than for having defended their families and themselves! To arms! To arms! No foreign nation could ever lord it over us when we resisted as we ought. Will you bend your necks to the yoke? Will you allow yourselves to be insulted by injuries the most perfidious, the most wicked, the most disgraceful,—committed in the face of the whole world? Will you submit to the humiliating slavery which is prepared for you? To arms!—fly to arms—not like the monster who oppresses you, to indulge an insatiable ambition; not, like him, to violate the law of nations and the rights of humanity; not to render yourselves odious to mankind: but to assist your countrymen, to rescue your king from captivity; to restore to your government liberty, energy, and vigour; to preserve your own lives and those of your children; to maintain the uncontrouled right of enjoying and disposing of your property: and to assert the independence of Spain. The time has come; the nation has resumed the sovereign authority, which, under such circumstances devolves upon it. Let us be worthy of ourselves. Let us perpetuate the renown of our fathers. If she remain firm and constant, Spain will triumph. A whole people is more powerful than disciplined armies. Those who unite to maintain the independence of their country must triumph over tyranny. Spain will inevitably conquer in a cause the most just that has ever raised the deadly

weapons of war; for she fights, not for the concerns of a day, but for the security and happiness of ages; not for an insulated privilege, but for all the rights of human nature;—not for temporal blessings, but for eternal happiness;—not for the benefit of one nation, but for all mankind, and even for France herself. Humanity does not always shudder at the sound of war,—the slow and interminable evils of slavery are a thousand times more to be abhorred;—there is a kind of peace more fatal than a field of battle drenched with blood, and strewed with the bodies of the slain. Such is the peace in which the metropolis of Spain is held by the enemy. The most respectable citizen there is exposed to the insolence of the basest French ruffian; at every step he has to endure, at least, the insult of being eyed with the disdain of the conqueror towards the conquered. The inhabitants of Madrid, strangers as it were, and by sufferance in their own houses, cannot enjoy one moment's tranquillity. The public festivals, established by immemorial custom, the attendance on religious ordinances, are considered as pretexts for insurrection, and threatened with being interrupted by discharges of cannon. The slightest noise makes the citizen tremble in the bosom of his family. From time to time the enemy run to arms, in order to keep up the terror impressed by the massacres of the 2d and 3d of May. Madrid is a prison, where the jailors take pleasure in terrifying the prisoners, for the pur-

pose of keeping them quiet by perpetual fear. But the Spaniards have not yet lost their country! Those fields which, for so many years, have seen no steel except that of the ploughshare, are about, amid the splendour of arms, to become the new cradle of their freedom! Fly then to the field of honour! Life and death in such a cause, and in such times, are indifferent. You who return will be received by your country as her deliverers,—and you, whom Heaven has destined to secure, with your blood, the independence of our native land,—the honour of our women,—the purity of our holy faith,—you will not dread the anguish of the last moments. Remember what tears of grateful love will be shed over your graves,—what fervent prayers will be sent up for you to the Almighty Father of Mercies, who will hear such supplications, and grant you your reward of glory. Let all Spain become a camp; let her population become an armed host; let our youths fly to the defence of the state, for the son should fall, before the father appears in the ranks of battle:—and you, tender mothers, affectionate wives, and fair maidens, do not retain within your embraces the objects of your love, until, from victory returned, they deserve your affection. They withdraw from you, not to fight for a tyrant, but for their God; for a monarch worthy the veneration of his people; for yourselves, and for your companions. Instead of regretting their departure, like the Spartan women, sing ye the

song of jubilee! The noble matrons, the delicate maidens, even the austere, religious, recluse nuns, must take a part in this holy cause; let them send up their prayers to Heaven for the success of our undertaking, and succour, in their domestic economy, the necessities of their warlike sons and brethren." The people were exhorted not merely to trust to their own exertions, but to look for that supernatural aid which the popular faith encouraged them to expect. They were urged to implore the aid of the Immaculate Conception of St. Jago, who had often accompanied their ancestors to victory, and of Our Lady of Battles, whose image was worshipped in the most ancient temple of Covadonga, and who had so eminently assisted Pelayo in the first great overthrow of the Moors. The Venerable Orders of Religion were invited to lend their aid to the good cause; and it must be acknowledged that, notwithstanding the base submission of the Primate, and the infamous conduct of the Inquisition, no order of men in Spain rendered more effectual service to the cause of their country. The active zeal of the Bishops of Oviedo, Santander, and Orense, was eminently conspicuous.

These animated appeals to the patriotism of the people were obeyed with the utmost ardour, in every quarter not immediately occupied by the French. The noble and the peasant, the prelate and the artizan, the aged and the young, flew to arms as by one common instinct, and '*Resistance*

*to oppression*' was the universal cry. The universities, (of which there were not less than twenty-four in Spain) formed their students into volunteer bands, designated by appropriate appellations, as the *Company of Brutus*, the *Company of Cato*, the *Company of the People*, &c. and on every banner was inscribed the emphatic words *Liberty or Death*. But as these desultory efforts could not, without concentration, be attended with any beneficial results, in a contest with the uncontrolled master of a mighty empire, it was necessary that some place should be appointed as the seat of a provisional government, by which the exertions of the people might receive a proper direction. As the capital was in the hands of the enemy, the city of Seville was considered on many accounts as best entitled to take the lead upon this occasion. It was the capital of a very extensive and populous province, in which veteran troops abounded more than in any other part of Spain; it was situated at a distance from the armies of France, and possessed a large quantity of arms and ammunition, and the only cannon-foundry in the kingdom. The vicinity of Gibraltar, and the English squadron on that coast, were also to be considered advantages of considerable moment at the present important crisis.

On the 27th of May the constituted authorities of Seville assembled, and appointed a Supreme Board of Government. They commenced their

laborious task by proclaiming Ferdinand VII. King of Spain, and declaring war against the Emperor Napoleon and the French nation, protesting that they would not lay down their arms till that Emperor restored to them the whole of their Royal Family, and respected the rights, liberty, and independence of the nation which he had violated. They established corresponding Juntas, in all towns within their jurisdiction containing two thousand householders, who were to embody all the inhabitants between the ages of sixteen and forty-five. They, at the same time, published an eloquent address to the inhabitants of Madrid, sympathising with their misfortunes, which they were determined to avenge, and a proclamation to the Spanish nation, worthy of the great cause in which they were engaged. But the regulations which they issued, under the title of 'precautions,' as necessary to be attended to during the mighty struggle which they were about to commence, were considered as most particularly worthy of observation. In them the principal difficulties and dangers to which the kingdom was likely to be exposed were pointed out, as well as the most effectual means of surmounting them. They recommended that all general actions should be avoided as much as possible, as a war of partizans was more suitable to their present state, as well as to the nature of the country, which, abounding as it did in mountains, rivers, and torrents, gave great facility to the plan of har-

rassing the enemy. To animate the zeal and enthusiasm of the people, and combine their efforts, it was necessary that every province should have its general; and it was equally indispensable that there should be three generalissimos, one commanding in Andalusia, Murcia, and Lower Estremadura; one in Galicia, Upper Estremadura, the two Castiles, and Leon; and one in Valencia, Arragon, and Catalonia. These should keep up a frequent communication, act with common accord, and assist each other. A particular general was required for Madrid and La Mancha, whose only object should be to harrass the enemy, and cut off his supplies: and another generalissimo was considered necessary for Navarre, Biscay, Asturias, and the north of Old Castile, whose business should be to prevent the entrance of French troops into Spain, and to cut off the retreat of those who were flying out of it. It was recommended to these generals to form armies of veterans and peasantry united, and to use every exertion to divide and harrass the forces of the enemy. They were called upon, at the same time, to instruct the people fully respecting the artifices and violence of the French, to encourage them to fight for their legitimate sovereign and national independence, and to assure them, that when, by their valour, they had freed themselves from the tyranny and presence of the French, and restored their country to liberty and tranquillity, Ferdinand would assemble the Cortes; abuses

would be reformed, and such laws enacted; as the circumstances of the times, and experience might dictate for the public good.

But as the efforts of the Spaniards, however vigorous and well-directed, were not likely without foreign aid, to prove successful against the conqueror of so many powerful nations, the Junta stated their dangers and exigencies to the Courts of London, Vienna and Stockholm; on the first, with whom they were yet in a state of nominal hostility, their chief reliance was placed, as the only power capable of affording them effectual assistance. At the very commencement of the insurrection, the Junta of Asturias dispatched two noblemen to England to solicit the aid of the British Court, and these were speedily followed by deputies from all the other provinces. Their reception exceeded their most sanguine expectations. All parties united in a cause which might not only rescue an injured nation from the fangs of the oppressor, but ultimately restore the independence of Europe. To assist the Spaniards upon the present occasion suited the system of the Ministry, who were still anxious to maintain their influence on the continent, while the Opposition could raise no objection to our affording aid to a people who sought it for the purpose of maintaining their liberties and independence. The deputies were splendidly entertained by the city of London, the Bank, and other public bodies. Subscriptions were opened for the cause of Spanish

independence in all the principal cities of the United Kingdom; various military corps offered their services in the Peninsula; and such was the enthusiasm that pervaded all ranks, that the people seemed ready to rise in a mass to fly to the assistance of the Spanish Patriots. Five thousand muskets, thirty thousand pikes, with an immense quantity of ammunition and £300,000 in dollars, were forwarded to the Patriots a few days after the arrival of the deputies, with assurances of farther supplies from time to time, as well as troops if required. These were held in readiness to embark at the shortest notice, and intelligent officers were dispatched to obtain accurate information of the disposition and strength of the Spaniards. In short, every thing was done that could tend to animate the exertions of the brave men who had risen in support of the rights of their country; and by an Order of Council dated the 4th of July, his Majesty directed that all hostilities should cease against Spain; and the blockade of her ports, except those in the hands of the French, be immediately raised. All the Spanish prisoners in our hands were, at the same time restored to liberty.

## CHAP. XVI.

The British Government determines to support the Spanish Patriots.—General Castanos declares for Ferdinand, and opens a communication with the Governor of Gibraltar.—Admiral Purvis blockades the French Squadron at Cadiz.—The vigorous Conduct of Morla, the Governor compels the French Ships to surrender.—Relative Situation of the hostile Armies in Spain.—A French corps, under General Dupont, crosses the Sierra Morena, and pillages Cordova.—Castanos adopts the most judicious measures for attacking the French.—Battle of Baylen, and surrender of the Corps under Dupont and Wedel.—The Spaniards, under General Cuesta, are defeated at Rio Seco.—Patriotism of General Blake.—He is appointed Captain General of Galicia.—Proceedings in Biscay and Arragon.—Memorable Siege of Saragossa.—Intrepidity and Talents displayed by General Palafox in the Defence.—Unparalleled Bravery and Sufferings of the Inhabitants.—Lefebvre is compelled to raise the Siege.—Gallant Defence of Valencia against Marshal Moncey, who is compelled to retire.—A similar result attends an attack on Gerona, by Duhesme.—Liberation of the Marquis de Romana's army in the Baltic.—Alarmed by the successes of the Patriots, Joseph Bonaparte abandons the Capital and retires to Burgos.—The Junta of Seville resigns its Functions, and a Central Junta is installed at Aranjuez.

**T**HE wishes of the British nation and government to support the cause of Spanish independence had been anticipated by our naval and military commanders at Gibraltar, and on the Cadiz station. Soon after the insurrection broke out, General

Castanos, who commanded the Spanish army in the camp of St. Roche, declared for Ferdinand, and opened a communication with Sir Hew Dalrymple, the governor of Gibraltar, who immediately raised a loan of 50,000 dollars amongst the merchants without interest, which he advanced to the Spaniards, requiring no other security than their honour. Admiral Purvis blocked up, at the same time, a French squadron of five sail of the line and a frigate, under Admiral Rossilly, which was lying in the port of Cadiz. After the death of the late governor, the Marquis de Solano, who fell a sacrifice to the fury of the people, Don Thomas de Morla, at that time one of the most respectable names in Spain, was chosen to fill the important station. He was considered eminently qualified to discharge the duties of governor at this crisis, having commanded at Cadiz in 1801, when the expedition under Sir Ralph Abercrombie appeared before the place, and when it was apprehended that the horrors of war would be superadded to those of a dreadful pestilence which at that time raged in the city. The dignity and firmness displayed by the governor upon this trying occasion excited universal admiration.

Morla had no sooner assumed the government, than he manifested a determination to act with the greatest vigour in the common cause. He issued a proclamation to tranquillize the minds of the people, opened a friendly communication with the British admiral, and adopted effectual measures

to compel the French squadron to surrender. In the trying and delicate situation in which he was placed, Admiral Rossilly seems to have acted with great firmness. He placed his squadron in a defensive position in the channel leading to the Caraccas, out of the reach of the works; and in order to gain time till the arrival of the powerful military force which he expected would be sent to occupy Cadiz, he proposed to quit the bay: but in case the English should not assent to this, he offered to land his guns and not hoist his colours, provided hostages should be exchanged, and protection granted to him against the exterior enemy. These terms were considered by Morla as wholly inconsistent with his honour, as he had it in his power to compel the unconditional surrender of the French squadron. Preparations were instantly made for the accomplishment of this object, in which Lord Collingwood, who had arrived from before Toulon, offered to co-operate; but Morla, trusting with well grounded confidence to his own resources, and anxious that his countrymen should have all the glory of the action, declined the proposal, assuring the British admiral at the same time, that he would accept of no terms from the enemy, without first consulting him. Having been aware that the French ships would be withdrawn from the range of the Cadiz batteries, he had already erected formidable works on the Isle of Leon and near Fort Luiz, and from these so efficient a fire was kept up for five days, that on

the 14th of June, Rossilly surrendered. Thus five sail of the line, one frigate, and about four thousand seamen and marines fell into the hands of the Patriots.

Before we proceed to detail the military events which marked the first campaign of the peninsular war, it may be necessary to take a view of the relative situation of the belligerents. Four out of the fourteen provinces into which Spain is divided, were, at the commencement of the insurrection, in the hands of the French, namely Navarre, Biscay, and the two Castiles. They had about eighty thousand men in the very heart of Spain, besides a corps of ten thousand under Marshal Ney, which was stationed on the frontier of the Eastern Pyrennees, and occupied the fortresses of Montjuich and Barcelona. Junot had with him in Portugal an army of more than twenty thousand men, and the whole, including auxiliaries, might amount to one hundred and twenty thousand. To oppose these veteran battalions, led on by men of the first military distinction, who had reaped a rich harvest of glory in many a well-fought field, Spain only possessed undisciplined levies without a single leader, to whose wisdom, zeal and courage she could entrust her destinies. According to the directions of the Junta of Seville, Generalissimos were appointed, who were to act in concert with each other. To General Cuesta was entrusted the command of the forces in the four western provinces of Galicia, Asturias, Estre-

madura, Leon, and certain districts of Biscay, not in the power of the enemy. General Castanos was appointed commander-in-chief in Andalusia, Granada and Valencia. Admiral Cisneros was Captain-General of Murcia; Don Joseph Palafox of Arragon, and Count Espellata of Catalonia.

It may excite some surprise, that the French government of Madrid had not taken earlier precautions to secure the important city of Cadiz; but Bonaparte had probably imagined that Solano and his other partizans in that quarter would have been able to effect that important purpose. To support his friends in the south, Murat, soon after his arrival at Madrid, ordered a detachment of his army to march to Cadiz under General Dupont, but from some disturbances which occurred at Toledo, and the disposition manifested by the people of Madrid, he afterwards thought it more prudent to keep the whole of his force in the vicinity of the capital. As soon, however, as Seville and Cadiz declared for Ferdinand, it was judged necessary to reduce those places at every risk, and Dupont was despatched upon this service with a considerable force.

That general crossed the Sierra Morena, a chain of mountains which separates Andalusia from New Castile and Estremadura, without opposition, and descended upon the city of Cordova, which lies at its foot. This place was so feebly defended by the few troops which it contained, and the armed inhabitants, that the French ge-

neral obtained possession of it after a conflict of two hours. The city was immediately given up to pillage, and the most horrible excesses were committed by the French soldiery. Here, however, he received intelligence of the surrender of the French squadron at Cadiz, that the country was in arms on every side, and that the peasantry occupied the difficult passes of the Sierra Morena, rendered famous by the wars between the Christians and the Moors, and from these circumstances he deemed it prudent to fall back to Andujar. The Junta of Seville manifested the greatest wisdom on this occasion. Knowing the perilous situation in which the army of Dupont was placed, they took the most prudent and effectual measures to compel it to surrender; and, while a body of British troops from Gibraltar, under General Spencer,\* took post at Ayamonte, to prevent Junot from sending any reinforcements to the enemy from Portugal. Castanos, reinforced by the garrison of Ceuta, proceeded from the camp of St. Roche to attack them with a numerous army, animated by the purest spirit of patriotism. They seemed to think that they were about to march and fight not merely because it was the command of their general, but that the service was peculiarly their own. The country that gave them birth demanded their best exertions. Their relations and friends were already exposed to the tyranny and insult

\* This corps consisted of the 6th, 29th, 32nd, 50th, and 82nd regiments of infantry, with a detachment of artillery, amounting altogether to upwards of five thousand men.

of the French soldiery; and to rescue or avenge their fellow-cirizens they considered the first of duties.

Castanos prudently resolved to adhere strictly to the wise precautions of the Junta of Seville. Knowing that the French troops were cut off from receiving reinforcements, and that they had little, if any chance of effecting their escape, he contented himself at first with harrassing the enemy, in order to give confidence to his troops, and inure them to habits of discipline. A large convoy of supplies from Toledo, including all the hospital stores, was intercepted in the mountains, and the peasantry having abandoned the harvest to take up arms, the French soldiers were obliged to reap the standing corn, and make it into bread for themselves; but the perpetual alarms given on every side by the Spaniards kept them so continually under arms, that they were not long at leisure even to do this. Castanos, at length, considering his army fitted for the decisive encounter, assembled a council of war on the 17th of July, when it was determined that an attack should be made upon the van of the French army, at Baylen, by the united divisions of the Marquis de Campagny and Major-General Theodore Reding, (brother of Aloys Reding, the celebrated Swiss patriot) while the divisions of Generals La Pena and Jones should occupy the attention of the enemy by a feigned attack on Andujar. Dupont's force did not exceed eight thousand men; the

Spaniards numbered twenty-five thousand, but one half of these were peasants.

General Reding, according to his instructions, marched on the morning of the 18th against the village of Baylen, of which he obtained possession with little difficulty, forcing General Gobert to fall back on La Carolina. The Commander-in-Chief, being informed of this success, ordered Reding not to pursue the retreating column, but to proceed against Andujar without delay, that he might attack it in flank, while it was assailed in front by the other divisions of the army, led on by Castanos in person. Dupont, in the mean time, finding himself considerably annoyed by the corps under La Pena and Jones, had secretly abandoned Andujar, and taken the route towards Baylen, with the expectation of surprizing Reding; and coming up with him about three o'clock on the morning of the 19th, at the very moment when he was forming his troops for the march, he opened upon his corps a sudden and tremendous fire of artillery. The Spaniards, though wholly unprepared for this attack, did not manifest the slightest disorder, but rapidly took their stations in the line, and gallantly repelled their assailants on all points. The French continued their attacks until mid-day without any interruption, except what was unavoidably occasioned by momentary retreats for the formation of fresh columns. They frequently broke through the lines of defence, and even penetrated to the Spanish batteries, but

confiding in their officers, and supported by the justice of their cause, the Spaniards remained immovable at all points, and inflicted a dreadful retaliation upon their adversaries. Dupont began now to despair of success, but, with the apparent resolution of a man resolved to conquer or die, he determined upon one more desperate charge. Placing himself at the head of his column, he made a furious onset upon the Spanish centre, under the protection of his artillery, but this met no better success, and he was finally repulsed, three thousand of his men being killed or wounded, and amongst the latter the commander himself.

General Dupont now found his army reduced to the last extremity; while all his efforts to break the Spanish lines were defeated. La Pena's division had arrived in his rear, so that all hope of retreat was completely cut off. He knew indeed that General Wedel, with six thousand men, had been despatched by the Commander-in-Chief to his assistance, but even if they were actually arrived they could not enable him to renew his attacks with any prospect of success. He therefore found himself reduced to the necessity of proposing a truce, to arrange terms of capitulation. While the negotiations were going on, General Wedel came up with his division, and suddenly attacked Reding contrary to the laws of war. The battalion of Cordova was surprized and taken, with two field-pieces, but this act of

treachery was justly punished by Castanos, who insisted that the division of Wedel should be included in the capitulation. Castanos proposed that Dupont should surrender at discretion, but, notwithstanding his extremely perilous situation, the French general would by no means consent to this, and Castanos at length agreed that his corps, together with Wedel's, should be embarked at Cadiz for Rochefort. The two corps, before the battle, amounted to fourteen thousand men.

This victory, which cost the Patriots about twelve hundred men, was highly honourable both to the generals and troops who achieved it; for though the numerical superiority of the Spaniards was great, yet this was more than counterbalanced by the description of troops thus conquered by an army, chiefly composed of raw and undisciplined levies. The results were important in the highest degree: the south-west of Spain being, by this event, completely freed from the presence and devastation of the enemy, and a ready path opened to the capital of the kingdom, while the achievement of such a triumph naturally produced the most animating effects on the minds of the people both in Spain and Portugal.

The Junta of Seville, however, refused to ratify the terms of the treaty entered into with Dupont, for reasons which have never been fully explained. The Andalusians with one voice exclaimed against their fulfilment. This, they said, was no ordinary war; the French had not entered their country as

honourable enemies, but basely and perfidiously as allies. Their actions after their first treachery were those of thieves, ruffians, and murderers, from whose rapacity, cruelty, and lust nothing was secure. They were therefore to be considered rather as criminals than soldiers, having forfeited every claim to the common courtesies and observances of war. It was also reported that letters of Dupont, written since the capitulation, had been intercepted, containing encouragement to Junot to make an attack upon Andalusia. But whether this were true or not, Dupont perceived that there was little inclination to permit his army to embark for France. He addressed a letter on the subject to Morla, the governor of Cadiz, who, in reply, stated that the conditions of the treaty were in themselves impracticable, as the Spaniards had neither transports nor the means of procuring them; and if they had, it was not to be supposed that the English would suffer them to pass, certain as they must be that the French would immediately carry on the war on some other point, or perhaps on the same. Dupont was reminded of the various atrocities committed by his army, since their entrance into the country; the pillage of palaces and towns, the profanation and plunder of churches, the violation of virgins, and the seizure of every article capable of being transported, and he was advised on the present occasion to adopt a line of conduct calculated to weaken the strong sense of the atrocities he had committed. An accident,

which occurred about this time, roused the indignation of the Spaniards to the highest pitch. On removing some of the French baggage, part of the church-plate pillaged from Cordova fell out of one of the bags, upon which the people seized the whole of the plunder, and all further remonstrances proving fruitless, Dupont and his army were detained as prisoners of war.\*

An action which took place about the same time in another quarter of the Peninsula was attended with a different result to the patriotic cause. To General Cuesta had been entrusted the important charge of cutting off the communication between Madrid and the French frontiers, but, being now in his seventieth year, he could not be supposed to possess sufficient ardour or activity for so arduous a duty. He had been nominated Captain-General of Castile and Leon by Ferdinand, during his short reign, while the direction of the force in the neighbouring province of Galicia was entrusted to Don Joachim Blake, a distinguished officer of Irish parentage. The French were equally anxious to keep open the communication with Bayonne, and for this purpose Marshal Bessieres took care to occupy all the strong positions which lay on or near this road. On the 14th of July, Cuesta resolved to attack a

\* Upon the return of this unfortunate general to France some time after, he was tried, and condemned to death by a court martial, for his conduct at the battle of Baylen, and the sentence was put in execution by torch-light.

division of the French army, consisting of twelve thousand men, and several pieces of cannon, commanded by General Lasolles, which was posted at Medina del Rio Seco. Blake endeavoured to dissuade the Commander-in-Chief from risking a battle, in his present unprepared state, but, though his remonstrances proved unavailing, he resolved to do every thing in his power to ensure success.

The patriot force consisted of fourteen thousand men, a great part of whom were peasants, and twenty-six pieces of cannon, but they were nearly destitute of cavalry. Animated by the most ardent enthusiasm, they rushed impetuously on the foe, and at the first shock drove them back, and took four pieces of cannon. The nature of the country, however, enabled the French to avail themselves of their great superiority in cavalry, and a charge of the French dragoons on the Spanish left wing deprived them of all the advantages they had gained, and decided the fate of the day. The patriots lost thirteen pieces of cannon, but they retired in good order to Benevento, their retreat being covered with distinguished ability by General Blake. The French suffered so severely, that they were unable to enter Rio Seco for some hours after, but here they took ample vengeance on the unfortunate inhabitants for the loss they had sustained, six hundred persons being massacred in the streets and houses. The talents displayed by General Blake at the battle of Rio

Seco, induced Marshal Bessieres to use his efforts to detach him from the popular cause. He accordingly addressed several letters to him on the subject of the Spanish prisoners, and took this opportunity of trying his patriotism, by holding out every allurements to him that could influence a man of ambition, in order to persuade him to join the party of the usurper. But Blake replied, like a man of honour, that he would acknowledge no other sovereign than Ferdinand of Bourbon, or his legitimate heirs. He assured him that similar sentiments actuated the whole army and the nation; and he recommended him to advise his emperor to renounce his project of subduing Spain, as it was evident that whatever partial successes he might obtain, his brother could never reign over that country but as a desert, covered with the blood of his own troops, and that of the brave defenders of their native soil. The Council of Galicia, sensible of the merits of this brave officer, immediately appointed him Governor and Captain-General of the Gallician kingdom.

The ports in the Bay of Biscay were, at the commencement of the campaign, objects of considerable contention between the hostile parties: and the heroic Bishop of St. Andero, putting himself at the head of his brave countrymen, was for some time completely successful against the detached corps of the enemy in his neighbourhood; but the contiguity of St. Andero to France enabled

the French to send a body of troops against it from Bayonne, which obtained possession of the town. Their triumph, however, was of short duration, as the advance of General Llano Ponte, at the head of ten thousand men of the Asturian army, compelled them to evacuate the place on the 12th of July, after having committed the most horrible excesses.

Nothing occurred during the first campaign of the peninsular war which has served to render it so memorable, as the gallant defence of Saragossa and Valencia. The former of these cities which is the capital of the kingdom of Arragon, is distant about one hundred and fifty miles from the Spanish capital, and contained before the attack near sixty thousand inhabitants. The river Ebro runs through the city, and the surrounding plain abounds in corn and fruits of various kinds. The walls appear to have been intended rather for the purpose of levying taxes than for defence, the *alignement* being in many places connected by buildings, the mud wall of a garden, or by the remains of an old Moorish wall with a slight parapet, but without any platform even for musketry. The gates, nine in number, were of the most simple construction, and the town was commanded by a high ground called the Torrero, about a mile to the south-west, which was separated from a similar elevation by the canal of Arragon. There are two bridges over the Ebro, one of wood, said to be the most beautiful of its

kind in Europe, and the other of freestone, having seven arches, the principal of which is one hundred and twenty-two feet in diameter. The city was originally founded by the Emperor Augustus, by whom it was called *Cæsarea Augusta*, which has been easily corrupted to its present name.

The brave Palafox having here erected the standard of his country, the French General Lefebvre was detached from Pampeluna early in June, with eight thousand infantry and nine hundred cavalry, to reduce him to submission. The Marquis de Lazan, who was the elder brother of Palafox, having collected some armed peasants, attempted to oppose the enemy in the neighbourhood of Tudela, but they were forced to fall back on Mallen, where they were again defeated with considerable loss, and the chief prisoners were put to death as rebels by the barbarous enemy. On the 14th the French advanced to Alagon, about sixteen miles from Saragossa, and having here routed a body of the half-armed citizens, the enemy proceeded without farther obstruction, and took up a position very near the city, which was covered by a rising ground planted with olive trees. The inhabitants having hastily placed some cannon before the gates, the assailants made no attempt to enter the place until the following morning, when they attacked the out-posts upon the canal, and endeavoured at the same time to penetrate with their main-body, through the gate

called Portillo. The Arragonese, though attacked on both sides, fought with the most determined resolution, yet so little order prevailed, that their caannon was served by any person who happened to be near them, and every one commanded and obeyed alternately. A spirit of the purest patriotism seemed, however, to animate every breast, and the whole force of the enemy that entered the town was put to death. The patriots also suffered severely, but their bravery was crowned with the most complete success, Lefebvre being forced to withdraw beyond the range of their guns.

The patriots were eager to pursue the retreating enemy, but Palafox restrained their ardour, wisely judging that Lefebvre had only withdrawn for a short time to recruit his losses, and that he would speedily return with a greater force to take vengeance for the disgrace he had suffered. The gallant chief, knowing that a regular siege was to be expected, resolved to avail himself of the present respite to collect reinforcements and other resources in the neighbouring country, and to place the rest of Arragon in a posture of defence. Having collected about fourteen hundred soldiers, who escaped from Madrid, with a small division of militia from Calatayud, he marched to Epila, with a view of placing the invaders between his little army and the city, and cutting off their reinforcements; but being suddenly attacked by Lefebvre on the 23d, superior numbers and

discipline prevailed, and the wreck of this gallant band, threw themselves with difficulty into Saragossa.

The arrival of General Verdier with two thousand five hundred men, and some Portuguese battalions whom the tyrannical system of Bonaparte had forced out of their own country, enabled Lefebvre soon after to advance again with augmented strength. Having secured the best positions, the French, on the 27th, attacked the city and the Torrero, but they were repulsed with the loss of eight hundred men and six pieces of artillery. They resumed the attack on the following morning, and unfortunately succeeded in getting possession of the Torrero, which was lost by the misconduct of an artillery officer, who was shot for his treachery. On this important post the enemy immediately mounted several twelve pounders, mortars and howitzers, and from these kept up an incessant fire of shells and grenades upon the town, in which not a building was bomb-proof. The most dreadful horrors now menaced the unfortunate inhabitants, but still the unanimous resolution of all ranks was never to yield. They placed beams of timber in a sloping direction against the houses, behind which they might take shelter from the falling shells. Sacks filled with sand were placed before the gates in the form of a battery, round which a deep trench was dug, and holes were made for musketry in the mud walls and intermediate buildings, while

cannon was stationed in the most favourable positions. All the houses in the environs were destroyed, and those gardens and olive-grounds which, in better times, had been the recreation and support of their owners, were now cheerfully rooted up by them wherever they were likely to cover the enemy's approach. Nor did the clergy nor the weaker sex decline the glorious task of assisting in the defence of their native city. Women formed themselves into companies to relieve the wounded, and carry refreshment to their husbands, sons, and brothers, who defended the gates. One of these was instituted by the Countess Burita, a lady of high rank, who, though young, delicate, and beautiful, was frequently seen in the midst of a most tremendous fire of shot and shells, coolly attending to the duties which she had prescribed to herself. Many of the monks took up arms, while others were busily engaged with the nuns in making cartridges, which the children distributed; or in administering the last rites of their religion to those gallant men who were expiring in the cause of their country.

During the night of the 28th, a powder-magazine, situated in the heart of the city, was blown up by the hand of some wretch whom the enemy had found means to corrupt; and this dreadful explosion which destroyed fourteen houses and two hundred persons, served as the signal for a fresh attack. While the inhabitants were engaged in digging out their fellow citizens from

the ruins, the French appeared before three of the gates which had been sold to them, and opened a most destructive fire of shot and shells. They directed their principal force against the Portillo gate and a large square building near it, and the sand-bag battery before this gate was frequently destroyed, and as often re-constructed under the fire of the enemy. The carnage at this spot was so dreadful throughout the day, that at length not a man who defended it was left alive. So tremendous was the fire, that the citizens and soldiers hesitated to reman the guns. At that critical moment Augustina Saragossa, a fine young woman of the lower class, who had been employed in carrying refreshments, rushed over the slain and wounded, snatched a match from the hand of a dead artillery-man, and fired off a twenty-six pounder. She then jumped upon the gun, and made a solemn vow that she would never quit it alive during the attack. Animated by the extraordinary courage of this heroine, the citizens again rushed to the battery, and resumed their fire with such destructive vigour, that the French were repulsed with great slaughter at this place, as well as at every other point of attack.

These assaults having been repeated for several succeeding days with no greater success, Lefebvre found it necessary to proceed against the city in a manner more conformable to the rules of war. The French having hitherto occupied the right bank of the Ebro, the besieged were enabled to

receive some scanty succours, but on the 11th of July the enemy succeeded in crossing the river, by a ford above the city, and afterwards constructing a floating bridge. Their cavalry now passed over in great numbers, destroyed the mills which supplied the town with flour, levied contributions on all the surrounding villages, and cut off every resource of the besieged. The active mind of Palafox, however, soon discovered means for supplying the wants of his fellow-citizens; corn-mills, worked by horses, were erected in various parts of the city, and the monks were employed in manufacturing gun-powder. All the sulphur in the place was put in requisition; the soil of the streets was carefully washed to extract its nitre, and charcoal was made of the stalks of hemp, which in that country grows to an unusual size; by these methods, thirteen arobas of Castile, or three hundred and twenty-five pounds of gun-powder, were produced each day.

At the end of July the city was completely invested, and the unfortunate inhabitants, exhausted by want of food, which had now become extremely scanty, and by their unremitting exertions for forty-six days, were ready to sink under their sufferings. They made, however, a desperate effort to recover the Torrero, but failing in this, as well as some other attacks, they resolved to abide the issue within their walls. The enemy renewed the bombardment on the 2d of August; and the foundling-hospital, which was filled

with the sick and wounded, took fire, and was consumed with many of its hapless inmates. Some of the wretched sufferers were rescued from impending destruction by the heroic exertions of the women, who, regardless of the shot and shells that fell around them, braved the fury of the flames; thus proving that at the call of humanity or the impulse of patriotism, they could carry the exercise of the manly virtues to the most exalted pitch. The enemy were now enabled to complete their batteries on the right bank of the Guerva, within pistol shot of the gate of St. Engracia, near which stood a splendid church and convent of Jeronimites. The convent of St. Engracia\* was speedily laid in ruins, with all its costly ornaments; and the French, penetrating through

\* This church and convent dedicated to St. Engracia and other saints and martyrs, of whom many extraordinary stories are recorded, were objects of peculiar veneration to the Sarragossans. Numerous relics were deposited here, and both edifices were most splendidly adorned; but the most remarkable part of the whole, was the subterraneous church, in the midst of which was a pit or well containing the relics. Here were shewn the heads of many saints, placed in silver shrines and enclosed in chrystal, with collars of precious stones. Several altars rich in treasures were ranged along the walls. Thirty small columns of different marbles supported the roof, which was of an azure colour, studded with stars to resemble the sky. The history of the Saragossan martyrs was represented in bas-relief, and the whole was secured by an iron grating from the touch of idle curiosity. In this subterranean church thirty silver lamps were burning day and night.

the mud-walls, forced their way, after a dreadful contest, into the street called Cozo, and before the day closed they were in possession of the half of Saragossa.

Having established his head-quarters amidst the ruins of St. Engracia, Lefebvre now concluded that the conquest of the city was accomplished; but he soon found that he had made a dreadful mistake. Having sent a summons to Palafox in the following laconic terms—“*Quartel General—Santa Engracia—Capitulation,*” (Head-quarters—Santa Engracia—Capitulation) he received a reply equally short but more emphatic—“*Quartel General—Saragossa—Guerra el Cuchillo,*” (Head-quarters—Saragossa—War to the knife’s point.) A contest now began for which scarcely a parallel can be found in history. The French, under the command of General Verdier, possessed one side of the street called Cozo, while the Patriots maintained the other. Batteries were erected by both parties, and the intervening space was quickly filled with the slain. The ammunition of the citizens beginning to fail, they declared their resolution of rushing on the enemy with their knives; but, at that critical moment, Don Francisco Palafox, the General’s brother, arrived with an unexpected reinforcement of three thousand Spanish guards, Swiss, and volunteers, and a convoy of arms and ammunition. The contest was now continued for eleven days and nights, from street to street and from house to house;

but chiefly under cover of the darkness, for it was almost certain death to appear in the day-time near the houses of the opposite party. During the night, the combatants frequently dashed across the streets to attack each other's batteries, and the combats thus commenced were often continued in the adjoining houses, where they fought from room to room, and from floor to floor.

The accumulation of dead bodies in the streets during this horrible warfare, now threatened this devoted city with the pestilence, an enemy not less to be dreaded than the sword. As it was certain death to any of the citizens to attempt to remove them, Palafox, ever fertile in resources, contrived an expedient, which in some measure diminished the evil. Tying ropes to the French prisoners, he pushed them forward, amid the dead and dying, to bring away the bodies for burial, and the sympathy of their countrymen secured them in the discharge of this necessary duty.

The resolutions of a Council of War, which assembled on the 8th, served still further to animate the people in the heroic defence of their native city, and they determined, that should the enemy even succeed in obtaining possession of the town, they would retire over the Ebro, break down the bridge, and defend the suburbs till they perished. They were not, however, driven to this extremity; the citizens every day gained ground

upon the French; and, after this unexampled conflict had lasted eleven days, the enemy were reduced to the possession of about an eighth part of the town. Lefebvre now began to perceive that all his efforts to overcome the obstinate resistance of a people resolved to conquer or die, must prove fruitless; he was, at the same time, disheartened by the intelligence of the successes of the Spaniards in various quarters of the Peninsula: under these circumstances, therefore, he resolved to abandon the town, and, on the morning of the 14th, after keeping up a most destructive fire during the preceding night, his columns were seen, to the great surprize of the patriots, at a great distance on the plain, bending their course towards Pampeluna. This city was filled for many days with waggon-loads of the wounded, whose number was so great that there was scarcely room for them in the convents and hospitals; and while these unfortunate wretches were literally dying in the streets for want of food and assistance, their unfeeling comrades were actively employed in disposing of the church-plate, watches, jewels and apparel, which they had plundered on their route through Navarre and Arragon.

The brave Palafox was, on the other hand, strenuously engaged in providing against the effects which were naturally to be dreaded after so long and so murderous a siege. The dead bodies were removed from the streets, and a

board of health was established, to guard against the dangers of putrefaction. In these necessary duties, the citizens cheerfully co-operated, not withstanding the state of exhaustion to which they were reduced by their unexampled exertions. Though many a parent was left childless, and many a man reduced from competence to poverty, yet no complaints were heard, and every feeling seemed to be swallowed up in the cheering recollection that they had successfully defended their native walls against the ruthless invaders, and that henceforth the name of Saragossa would rank with those of Numantia and Saguntum. "Saragossa," says Mr. Wordsworth, "has exemplified a melancholy, yea a dismal truth, yet consolatory and full of joy; that when a people are called suddenly to fight for their liberty, and are sorely pressed upon, their last field of battle is the floors upon which their children have played; the chambers where the family of each man has slept, or under the roofs by which they have been sheltered; in the gardens of their recreation; in the street or in the market-place; before the altars of their temples, and among their congregated dwellings, blazing or up-rooted." To contemplate a field of battle where two mighty armies meet to decide the fate of empires, may fill the mind with admiration of the skill of the leaders and the prowess of the troops; it dazzles the imagination with all the gorgeous pomp and parade of war; but every fibre of the human heart is roused to animation at

the sight of peaceable citizens defending their altars and fire-sides against the enemies of their country, and, in obedience to the voice of patriotism, fighting amidst the wreck of their property, and the slaughter of their dearest friends. Such was the scene presented by the defence of Saragossa, a name which in all after-ages can never be pronounced but with enthusiastic respect and veneration.

Soon after the raising of the siege, Ferdinand was proclaimed with the usual ceremonies, amidst walls blackened with fire, shattered with artillery, and stained with blood. The obsequies of the dead were next performed with military honours, and pensions were granted to such of the survivors as had particularly distinguished themselves, amongst whom was the celebrated Augustina, who was also permitted to wear a small shield of honour embroidered on the sleeve of her gown, upon which the word Saragossa was inscribed.

The city of Valencia evidenced about the same period a similar spirit of resistance to their oppressors, Marshal Moncey having directed his march towards this city, at the head of a well-appointed corps of about twelve thousand men, besides cavalry. He reached Cuenca about the middle of June, but he conducted his march in such a manner as equally to threaten Murcia and Valencia. to secure the latter, however, soon appeared to be his object, as the possession of it would render him master of the most fertile and

delightful province of Spain, and open a communication with the French in Catalonia. The province of Valencia presented some formidable barriers against invasion, and the Spanish troops and peasants were not slow in occupying them; but Moncey by a rapid movement, and a sudden and impetuous attack, succeeded in forcing a passage over the mountains, and immediately advanced towards the city.

Valencia, like Saragossa, was nearly defenceless: immense suburbs had grown up round the whole circle of its brick walls, and the small citadel which it contained was altogether useless: the bravery and patriotism of the inhabitants, however, supplied the want of fortifications. At the call of the Junta they repaired to the citadel for arms; but the number of muskets being insufficient for all, some could only procure swords. The gate of Quarte, against which the enemy were expected to make their principal attack, was defended by several pieces of cannon, under the protection of a breast-work of timber, and logs of wood were used to block up the different streets. The ditches were at the same time filled with water, and trenches cut across the road to impede the enemy's approach.

Marshal Moncey having arrived, on the evening of the 27th, within a league of the city, the Spanish general Caro made an ineffectual attempt to check his progress. On the following morning the Marshal sent in a flag of truce, promising pro-

tection to persons and property, if the French were permitted to enter peaceably; otherwise threatening to force his way with fire and sword. The inhabitants declaring their fixed resolution to defend the place to the last extremity, the attack immediately commenced; and fortunately for the Spaniards, Moncey directed his efforts against the very gate which had been fortified with the greatest care. As their approach was along a broad street, which led directly to the gate, the Patriots skilfully seized the advantage which this circumstance gave them, and, throwing open the barrier, they brought up a twenty-four pounder, in addition to the guns which had been already planted there, and opened such an effectual fire on the approaching enemy that the streets were presently heaped with their dead. The French soon fell into confusion and disorder, and at length retired after suffering great carnage. They continued to cannonade the city till eight in the evening, when they made an attempt to force the gate of St. Vincents, but being repulsed in this also, they commenced a retreat in the night, and speedily evacuated the province, after losing in the expedition above five thousand men, and a great part of their artillery.

A third division of the French army, marched on the 20th of June, under General Dubesme from Barcelona, to attack the city of Gerona. This force consisted of eight thousand men, and neither the city nor its fort Montjuic was prepared

for the attack. The inhabitants, indeed, had put themselves in a posture of defence, and were determined to maintain the place to the last extremity, but they possessed no leader qualified to direct their operations. In this distressing emergency, Captain Otway, who was then lying off Rosas, about thirty miles distant, hastened with his marines to the relief of the town, and put himself at the head of its brave defenders. Led on by him, all ranks of the inhabitants exerted themselves with the utmost bravery, and every attack of the enemy was repelled. Lord Cochrane, in the mean time, assisted by the Spanish militia, stormed the castle of Mongat, which commanded a pass on the road between Barcelona and Gerona, destroyed the castle, and broke up the road, so as to render it impassable for artillery. Dubesme was now convinced that the place could not be taken but by a regular siege, and, having made the necessary arrangements, he summoned Gerona on the 11th of August. The arrival, however, of Count de Caldagues, at the head of six thousand men, only three hundred of whom were regular troops, compelled the French general to abandon his enterprize, at the moment when it was expected that the town could not hold out above twelve hours longer. Aided by a sally from the fort, the Count stormed the French batteries at the point of the bayonet, which threw the enemy into such irreparable confusion, that they fled from their encampment into the plain of

Sarvia, where, protected by their cavalry, they made a stand for a great part of the day, till the arrival of a fresh body of Spaniards compelled them to retreat towards Barcelona and Figueras, leaving behind them a great part of their artillery and stores.

The patriot cause received a considerable accession of strength about this time, by the liberation of a large body of Spanish troops, under the Marquis of Romana, whom the artifice of Napoleon had inveigled into the north of Germany, and from thence into the Danish islands in the Baltic. The British government, at the commencement of the Spanish contest, directed their earnest attention to the deliverance of these brave men, and Rear-Admiral Keates, who commanded in the Baltic, found means to communicate to the Marquis de Romana intelligence of every thing that had occurred in Spain.\* No sooner were these brave men informed of the dreadful injuries inflicted on their country by their treacherous allies, than they manifested their impatience to join those patriotic bands, who had taken up arms to defend their native soil, and, though surrounded by hostile battalions, they planted their colours in

\* This is said to have been accomplished through the medium of a Swedish clergyman, who disguising himself as a low travelling tradesman, went by the way of Heligoland, and after encountering many difficulties, at length reached the place where the Spanish troops were stationed. Having ascertained the person

the centre of a circle, and swore on their knees to be loyal to their country.

A Spanish officer having fortunately escaped to the British fleet, a plan was soon concerted for the liberation of this faithful band, six thousand of whom were stationed, with their commander, in the island of Funen. On the 9th of August the Spanish troops took possession of the fort of Nybourg, where they were joined by a thousand of their countrymen from Jutland. Another regiment in Jutland was unfortunately so situated as to be unable to effect its escape, and two in the island were disarmed, after firing on the French General Frision, (who endeavoured to seduce them from their allegiance,) and killing one of his aides-du-camp. After an impotent opposition from some Danish vessels in the harbour of Nybourg, the whole force, amounting to eight thousand men, embarked on the 11th, with all their artillery, baggage, and stores, and being joined by two thousand more from Laland, the

of the Marquis, he addressed him in the character of a vender of coffee, but his first overtures were treated with contempt, the Marquis supposing him to be a smuggler. The clergyman, however, contrived to introduce a conversation with him in Latin apparently about the coffee, in order to deceive those who might observe them, and by this means the Marquis was put in possession of the occurrences that had taken place in Spain, and of the readiness of the British Government to assist him in any efforts he might wish to make for the rescue of himself and his troops.

whole of them were brought to England, and soon after sent to their own country.

The rapid successes of the Patriots in various quarters of Spain, had now rendered the residence of the intrusive king in the capital full of apprehension and disquietude. The first news which greeted him after his arrival was the defeat and surrender of Dupont. To this succeeded the unwelcome intelligence of the recovery of St. Andero by the Patriots, the flight of Moncey from before Valencia, and the vain efforts of Lefebvre to subdue Saragossa. The victorious armies of Valencia and Andalusia were advancing towards Madrid, the inhabitants of which were ready to rise and avenge their murdered comrades; and Blake, notwithstanding his defeat at Rio Seco, had recovered his superiority, and was now in a condition to endanger the retreat of the usurper. Alarmed by all these untoward circumstances, Joseph, before he had been ten days in the city, found it necessary to evacuate it, and he retired to Burgos, with his army, after destroying all the artillery and ammunition which he could not take away. He also plundered the palaces, and the treasury, and carried off the crown-jewels, and regalia. 'Thus,' observed the Spaniards humorously, "as he could not put the crown on his head, he put it in his pocket." The Duke del Infantado, the Duke del Parque, Don Pedro de Cevallos and some other friends of Ferdinand, who had been compelled to enter the intruder's service,

contrived to escape from their degrading situation previous to this event.

As soon as the capital was freed from the presence of the usurper, the Council of Castile resumed the government, and, in a proclamation to the inhabitants and an address to the several provincial governments, they endeavoured to regain the good opinion of their countrymen, which they had forfeited by their base subserviency to the invader. Though they failed in this object, yet it prevailed so far on the compassion of the people, that its weak members were pitied, and the guilty remained unpunished. Their claims, however, to any kind of supreme authority were disregarded, and most of the provincial Juntas seemed determined to abide by the decision of that of Seville, whose wise and vigorous conduct had merited the good opinion of the whole nation. The necessity of some supreme government was, however, universally apparent, and Madrid, under all circumstances, was considered the most eligible place for its residence. The Junta of Seville cheerfully resigned its authority when the good of the nation required it, and this renunciation was preceded by a manifesto fraught with wisdom. After congratulating their countrymen on their successes against the common enemy, it exhorted them to the most watchful vigilance, and cautioned them against discord and disunion. It pointed out the necessity of a supreme government, but denied any power in the Council of Castile to convoke the

Cortes, which rested in the King alone. As this was now impossible, it asserted that the supreme power rested in the Juntas created by the people, and it exhorted the different Juntas to elect from among their own members two deputies, and that all the deputies thus elected should be acknowledged and obeyed as constituting the supreme government of Spain. Each Junta should, however, continue to have the internal command and direction in its own province, and it became their duty to communicate the wishes of the people to the deputies sent by them to the supreme government.

This plan gave general satisfaction, and the Central Junta was installed at Aranjuez on the 25th of September, under the presidency of the venerable Count Florida Blanca. After taking an oath to support and defend the Holy Catholic Church, and be faithful to their august sovereign, Ferdinand the Seventh was proclaimed with great solemnity. The Supreme Central Junta was soon after acknowledged by the Council of Castile, and by all the other constituted authorities of the kingdom. Amongst the first proceedings of this body were the sending envoys to England, some salutary regulations respecting the finances, and the appointment of a new Council of War, composed of five members. General Castanos was constituted President, and the other four members were Don Thomas Morla, the Marquis de Castelar, the Marquis del Pilacia, and Don Antonio de Bueno.

## CHAP. XVII.

**Important Events in Portugal.—Melancholy State of Lisbon.—Tyrannical Proceedings of General Junot.—Insurrection at Oporto, and through the North of Portugal, attended with complete Success.—Horrible Cruelties committed by the French in the Province of Alentejo.—The Portuguese open a communication with the British Fleet.—An Expedition sails from Cork, under Sir Arthur Wellesley, to assist the Patriots.—The British Force disembarks at Mondego Bay.—Battles of Roleia and Vimiera, in which the French are defeated.—Arrival of Sir Harry Burrard to take the Command of the British Army.—He is quickly superseded by Sir Hew Dalrymple.—Junot obtains an Armistice.—Convention of Cintra.—Exasperation of the Portuguese at the Terms of this Treaty.—The French evacuate Portugal.—The Convention excites general indignation in England.—A Board of Enquiry is appointed for investigating the transaction.—His Majesty expresses his disapprobation of the Convention.—The thanks of both Houses of Parliament are voted to Sir Arthur Wellesley for his signal Victory at Vimiera.**

**H**AVING detailed the first successes of the Spanish Patriots in defence of the independence of their country, we shall now proceed to notice the important occurrences which took place, during the same period, in the other kingdom of the Peninsula. From the moment when the French

flag was planted on the tower of Lisbon, Junot continued to rule the unfortunate Portuguese with a rod of iron. Commerce, from which thousands not only derived subsistence, but comfort and respectability, was completely paralyzed, the English blockading squadron not suffering a single ship to enter. The India house was shut up, and Lisbon, which had been one of the most cheerful of cities, presented nothing but quays totally deserted, and whole streets nearly empty. As the city depended for its supply of corn, chiefly upon foreign countries, famine now menaced the wretched inhabitants, and the convents where the poor had formerly been fed, were occupied by soldiers. Many of the numerous English who resided in Lisbon, as well as Portuguese, had effected their escape by means of a Russian squadron under Admiral Siniavin, which on the commencement of hostilities between Great Britain and the Emperor Alexander, had taken refuge in the Tagus, and with a generosity highly honourable to the Russians, now afforded protection to the persecuted English. Junot, to check the emigration of the Portuguese, threatened them with the loss of property and the severest corporal punishment: all who facilitated their escape were menaced with death, and all householders were compelled, under the severest penalties, to give information when any of their inmates had emigrated.

These rigid measures, with the executions that

followed, would probably have succeeded in repressing the spirit of the people, had not the Spanish revolution broken out. Some Portuguese noblemen, whom it had been deemed prudent to secure in France, were made use of on the occasion to reconcile the minds of their countrymen to their state of abject vassalage. The Marquis of Abrantes, whose estates, with the title of Duke, Bonaparte conferred on Junot, was sent with some others, under the title of deputies, to Bayonne, from whence they wrote a letter to the Portuguese nation, stating that the object of the Emperor Napoleon was to deliver them from the yoke of British influence, and restore them to their rank amongst the powers of Europe. They were therefore exhorted to embrace the general cause of Europe, and to resist with firmness every temptation to oppose the will of the Emperor. Though Junot was indefatigable in circulating this letter, yet he thought it necessary to take other precautions to guard himself against the fury of a people whom he had for the last six months oppressed with a complication of miseries, and from whom he knew it was impossible to conceal the intelligence of the Spanish insurrection. The first measure he resolved upon was to disarm the Spanish troops quartered in Lisbon. For this purpose he issued orders that they should assemble at an early hour on the morning of the 11th of June, under the pretext of crossing the Tagus to proceed to Setúbal; but they were no sooner

collected, than they found themselves surrounded by French troops, and being compelled to ground their arms, they were confined on board the hulks in the river. The people were by this stratagem, deprived of all hopes of military assistance, except from England, the flower of their own troops having been sent into the dependant states on the Continent, or marched into Spain to assist in rivetting the yoke of the tyrant on the neck of their Spanish brethren. Many of these were forced into the foremost ranks, and perished at the siege of Saragossa: whilst others, more fortunate, effected their escape, and joined the bands of the Patriots.

Though the rigorous measures adopted by Junot served to keep the inhabitants of Lisbon in awe, yet a flame was excited by the Spanish proclamations in other parts of the country, which soon defied all the efforts of the French general for its suppression. Circumstances were peculiarly favourable to the patriotic cause at Oporto, where a considerable body of Spanish troops was stationed. They were no sooner acquainted with the events that were passing in their own country, than they determined to return, and assist the Patriots; but, before their departure, they took the French general and his staff prisoners, and delivered up the government of the city to Louis de Oliveira, who had filled that office before the arrival of the French. This man, however, soon gave symptoms of treachery to his country, and

instead of encouraging the enthusiasm of the people, he endeavoured to check it, in order to give time for the arrival of a French force. During this interval, the festival of the Corpo de Deos occurred, and the governor refused to permit the Portuguese colours to be carried in the procession on this occasion, assigning as a reason for his conduct, that French troops under General Loison were approaching, who would take vengeance on the city, if he should yield to the wishes of the people. This occasioned the loudest murmurs, and on the following day when carts were ordered to send off provisions for the French detachment, they were stopped by the populace, and an officer, followed by a body of troops, rode with the Portuguese flag to the square of St. Oviedo, exclaiming, "Long live the Prince Regent!"—This exclamation now resounded through the city; the populace instantly flew to arms, with which they supplied themselves at the arsenal, destroyed every vestige of French power, and threw Oliviera, with all his partizans, into prison.

Bernardine Friere de Andrade, who had formerly been governor of the province, now resumed the command; but the people, instead of taking the necessary measures for their defence, gave themselves up for several successive nights to an intoxication of joy, till the exertions of the bishop and his clergy convinced them of the folly of celebrating their deliverance before it was secured. This wise prelate immediately opened a communi-

cation with an English ship of war, which was off the bar, sent an accredited agent to England, and concluded an alliance with the Junta of Galicia. General Loison advanced with three thousand French troops as far as Amarante, to quell the insurrection at Oporto, but intelligence of the formidable and determined spirit manifested by the people caused him to hesitate, and a furious attack made upon him by the brave peasantry of the *Tras os Montes*, compelled him to recross the Douro with considerable loss.

The flame of insurrection now spread with the rapidity of lightning through the whole of the north of Portugal. In the little town of Olhao, as well as in many other places, an edict was posted up, by order of Junot, calling upon the Portuguese to take up arms against the Spanish insurgents. Jose Lopez de Sousa, a Portuguese colonel, tore it down, and, turning to the by-standers, exclaimed, "Ah, Portuguese, we no longer deserve that name, and we are now nothing!" The people exclaimed with one voice, that they were still Portuguese, and ready to lay down their lives for their religion, their prince, and their country. They instantly flew to the church, appointed Lopez their commander, and seized the cannon at the little fort of Ammona on the coast. General Morain, the French governor of Algarve, who resided at Faro, sent a detachment to quell the insurrection at Olhao, but they were repulsed with loss, and the inhabitants at Faro, headed by

a countryman, taking advantage of their absence, made the remainder of the garrison, amounting to one hundred and seventy men, with their general, prisoners. The detachment sent against Olhao fled to Mertola, where there was a division of French destined to enter Spain and succour Dupont, but this plan was frustrated by the vigilance of the English corps under General Spencer, and in forty-eight hours, the whole province of Algarve had recovered its liberty, part of the provinces of Beira and Minho, rose in arms at the same time, and a very numerous force both of regular troops and peasantry was soon collected in the north of Portugal.

The efforts of the Patriots in other quarters were not attended with the same immediate success. The open country of Alentejo, the province next to that of Algarve, was peculiarly favourable to the operations of regular troops, and here the menaces of Junot were carried into the most rigorous execution. Two hundred persons were killed in the streets of Villa Viçiosa, and twelve were shot as rebels. The city of Beja was defended by six thousand Portuguese, who did not give way till twelve hundred of them were left dead on the field. The town was then given up to pillage, and every house from which resistance was made, was burnt. The same barbarities were practised at Evora, where a hundred Spanish prisoners were put to death in cold blood. At Leiria, six hundred Patriots fell, and a thousand

before Guarda; in all, said the French accounts, above thirteen thousand insurgents perished. The horrors perpetrated by the French throughout Portugal, at this period, have never been surpassed by any thing recorded in the blood-stained annals of history. Towns and villages were burnt, priests murdered at the altar, nuns violated in their convents, and scarcely a female above twelve years of age escaped the brutality of these profligate barbarians. But notwithstanding these cruelties the spirit of the Portuguese remained unbroken, and the enemy were masters only of as much of the country as their armies occupied.

The incessant warfare thus maintained by the inhabitants of Estremadura and Alentejo, prevented Junot from sending forces to the more distant provinces, where opportunity was thus afforded for organizing the insurrection, and forming Juntas on the Spanish plan. The people of Lisbon were only kept in awe by the presence of Junot and a numerous force, but in spite of all his vigilance, they contrived to maintain a friendly correspondence with the British fleet under Sir Charles Cotton, who informed them of every important occurrence that took place in the north of their own country, as well as in Spain.

The Junta of Oporto made several wise edicts relative to the organization of an army, and raising funds for its support, but they were well convinced that all their efforts to expel the com-

mon enemy, would prove fruitless without the powerful assistance of England, and the greatest anxiety was manifested for the expected succours. Great Britain was not less anxious to participate in so glorious a struggle, and so great was the general ardour manifested upon the occasion, that the militia almost universally offered themselves for the service.

An expedition had been for some time preparing at Cork, the destination of which was at length fixed to be Spain or Portugal, and the command was conferred upon Major-General Sir Arthur Wellesley. This force, which consisted of about ten thousand men, sailed from Cork harbour on the 12th of July, and the general, as soon as he saw the fleet clear of the coast, made all sail in a frigate for Corunna, where he arrived on the 20th. He offered his assistance to the Junta of Galicia; but, confident in their own strength, as far as regarded men, they declined the offer, and assured Sir Arthur they needed nothing from the British government but arms, ammunition, and money. They, at the same time, intimated that the best mode in which his army could be employed to assist the general cause of the Peninsula, would be to drive the enemy from Portugal, a measure which would also relieve the province of Galicia, and enable the Spaniards to make simultaneous efforts for the complete expulsion of the French from the Peninsula.

Sir Arthur now sailed for Oporto, where he

held a conference on the 24th with the Bishop and some general officers, by whom he was informed that five thousand Portuguese regular troops were stationed at Coimbra, with twelve hundred peasants in advance; and that two thousand five hundred Portuguese, and three hundred Spanish infantry were at Oporto, besides peasants, but badly equipped and armed, the peasants having only pikes. Of these it was arranged that five thousand should co-operate with the British, and the remainder with a Spanish corps, which was expected from Galicia. From Oporto the British general repaired to the mouth of the Tagus, to confer with Admiral Sir Charles Cotton on the probability of his being able to force the entrance of the Tagus, and attack the forts in the neighbourhood of Lisbon. The French force was represented as not exceeding sixteen or eighteen thousand men, but this was afterwards found to be extremely inaccurate, as it reached nearly twenty-four thousand. He found, however, that it would be extremely dangerous to land his troops in any of the bays to the north of the Tagus, as this would expose them to the attack of the principal body of the enemy's army, and he finally resolved on making the disembarkation in Mondego Bay, where he ordered the corps under General Spencer to join him from Cadiz. The British commander rejoined the fleet on the 30th, when he received the pleasing intelligence of the surrender of Dupont, with advices from his own

government, that he would be immediately reinforced with five thousand men, under Generals Ackland and Anstruther, who would shortly be followed by ten thousand more, under Sir John Moore, and that the command of the whole was to be vested in Sir Hew Dalrymple.

The disembarkation commenced on the 1st of August, but was not completed till the 5th, owing to the unfavourable state of the weather. The corps under General Spencer joined them on the same day, and on the 8th the whole army was in readiness to advance. The van-guard marched on the 9th, supported by the brigades under Generals Hill and Ferguson, and on the 11th they were joined by the main body at Leiria. A corps of six thousand Portuguese, including six hundred cavalry, arrived on the following day, but, unfortunately, a coolness arose between their General Bernardine de Friere and the British commander, owing to an unreasonable and impracticable demand made by the former, that his troops should be supplied with provisions from the British stores; and when Sir Arthur Wellesley stated that he could not comply with his request, unless by exposing his own troops to insufficient or precarious sustenance, Friere instantly declared his resolution to separate his force from the English army, though Sir Arthur urged the necessity of his co-operation by every motive which regarded his own honour, that of his country, or his prince; but he not only declined every overture of the

British general, but even refused to leave with him one thousand infantry, with six hundred cavalry and light troops, whom Sir Arthur engaged to subsist.

Previous to the arrival of Sir Arthur Wellesley at Leiria, the French General Laborde, had assembled a corps of five or six thousand men in the neighbourhood of that city. Loison continued his ravages in Alentejo, and after perpetrating fresh horrors at Evora and re-victualling Elvas, he turned back, crossed the Tagus at Abrantes, and arrived at Thomar on the same day that the English army reached Leiria, the two cities being about thirty miles distant from each other. Laborde was at the same time six leagues from Leiria, where he hoped to have formed a junction with Loison, an event which was frustrated by the sudden advance of the British army.

Having made the necessary arrangements at Leiria, Sir Arthur Wellesley pushed forward on the 14th, to Alcobaca, from which the French retired during the preceding night. He marched for Caldas on the following day, during which the British advanced-guard came in contact with the enemy at Obidos. Four companies of the 95th (riflemen) pursued the fugitives with too much ardour, and would have been cut off, had not General Spencer come up to their assistance. The British, however, gained the village with the trifling loss of two officers and twenty-three men,

killed, wounded, and missing, and the French retired entirely from the neighbourhood.

General Laborde now took post with six thousand men, and five pieces of cannon, on the heights of Roleia, having his right resting on the hills, his left on an eminence, and the passes were so judiciously protected, that superior numbers could not be brought against him. Notwithstanding the strength of this position, Sir Arthur Wellesley determined to attack it on the 17th, and, while the few Portuguese that remained were destined to turn the enemy's left flank, Major-General Ferguson and Brigadier-General Bowes were ordered, with their brigades, to ascend the hills on the right, and the centre columns to act against the front of the French position.

This judicious plan of attack was executed at all points with the greatest skill and bravery. The army advanced in three columns from Caldas, and, after driving in the enemy's out-posts, prepared to ascend the passes of the mountains. Twelve hundred Portuguese infantry ascended a pass to the right of the whole; the light companies of Major-General Hill's brigade, and the 5th regiment moved up the next pass; the 29th and 9th regiments a third; and the 45th and 82d passes on the left. In every quarter the efforts of the British were resisted with the greatest obstinacy, particularly that ascended by the 9th and 29th regiments. These corps first attacked the French, from whom they met the most

desperate resistance, and here the greatest loss was sustained by the British. The Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Lake, of the 29th, while distinguishing himself by the most gallant exertions, received a mortal wound. Majors Way and Egerson, of the same regiment, were also wounded, as were Lieutenant-Colonel Stuart and Major Molle of the 9th. The French were at length driven from all the passes in the mountains, and the British troops reached the plains on their tops, where the enemy, in order to cover their retreat, made three most gallant attacks on the same two corps with whom they had already so vigorously contended, but these fresh efforts proved equally unavailing; they succeeded, however, in effecting their retreat in good order, principally owing to the want of cavalry, and the difficulty of bringing up a sufficient number of troops through the passes of the mountains; so that though the numerical strength of the British army vastly exceeded that of the enemy, yet not more than six regiments could be brought into action. The French lost three pieces of cannon. The British loss in killed and wounded was four hundred and eighty-two, including twenty-eight officers. The consequences of the victory were of the greatest moment, as it was absolutely necessary that Sir Arthur Wellesley should drive the enemy from these passes, before he could advance to Lisbon.

In the night after the battle, Laborde effected

a junction with Loison, and the united corps retired beyond Torres Vedras, towards the Cabeça de Montichique. Sir Arthur Wellesley prepared to follow them thither; but receiving advices on the 18th that General Anstruther had arrived on the coast, he determined to move forwards to Vimiera, where he was joined by this welcome reinforcement on the 19th, and on the following day by the troops under General Ackland. The whole of the British force now amounted to about eighteen thousand men.\*

### British Army

Engaged at Vimiera, August 21st, 1808.

*Commander-in-Chief,*

Major-General SIR ARTHUR WELLESLEY, K. B.

*Second in Command,*

Major-General SPENCER.

Major-General FRANKSON'S BRIGADE.		Brought over .....	12,942
36th Foot .....	647	Brigadier-General FRASER'S.	
40th — .....	843	50th Foot .....	1019
71st — .....	903	60th —, 5th Battalion, ...	936
	2393	95th (Rifle,) 4 companies, ..	400
			2,356
Major-General HILL'S.		Brigadier-General CRAUFORD'S.	
6th Foot .....	980	45th Foot .....	599
9th — 1st Battalion, ...	833	91st — .....	917
35th — .....	957		1,516
	2760	Brigadier-General NIGHTINGALE'S.	
Brigadier-General BOWEN'S.		62d Foot .....	991
6th Foot .....	1020		991
29th — .....	863		
32d — .....	941		
	2824	30th Light Dragoons .....	300
Brigadier-General ACKLAND'S.		Portuguese Cavalry .....	200
2d Foot .....	913	Artillery .....	200
20th — .....	689		700
95th (Rifle,) 2 companies, ..	180		
	1782		
Brigadier-General ANSTRUTHER'S.			
9th Foot, 2d Battalion, ....	675		
43d —, 2d —, .....	881		
52d —, 2d —, .....	858		
97th — .....	789		
	3163		
	12,942		
		Total 18,504	

In the mean time, Junot (who was now dignified with the title of Duke of Abrantes,) had concentrated the whole of his disposable force, amounting to about sixteen thousand men, at Torres Vedras, having taken up a strong position, with his advanced-guard in front of the town, while the main body, under Laborde and Loison, was strongly posted behind it. Their cavalry, which was numerous, covered the whole country, and prevented Sir Arthur from obtaining any accurate information of the enemy's force. He had learned, however, that their position was uncommonly strong, and he determined to march on the following morning to Mafra, halting the main body about four or five miles from that place, by which means he would turn the enemy's position at Torres Vedras. But Junot was too impatient to wait for this movement, and on the morning of the 21st he advanced with his whole force to attack the British before any further reinforcements should arrive. Vimiera, where the English army was stationed, is situated in a delightful valley, through which runs the little river Maceira. A mountain rises on the west and north, the base on one side being washed by the sea, and that on the other separated from the heights by a deep ravine. The greater part of the infantry with eight pieces of artillery were posted on this mountain, under the command of Majors-General Hill and Ferguson. The riflemen and 50th regiment under Gen. Fraser, and the brigade of General Anstruther were posted on a hill to the

south and east of the village, which was commanded by the mountains on which the main-body of the British infantry was posted ; the left of this hill was also commanded from the heights over which the road to Lourinha passes, and that was occupied only by a picquet, as the camp had been taken up but for a single night. The cavalry and reserve of artillery were placed in the valley between the hills, so as both to flank and support the advanced-guard.

About eight o'clock in the morning, large bodies of the enemy's cavalry made their appearance on the heights to the left, threatening the weakest part of the position. A movement was immediately executed with the greatest judgment and precision to repel the threatened attack, and the brigades of Generals Ferguson, Nightingale, Bowes, and Ackland moved across the ravine, to support the advanced-guard. These troops were formed in three lines upon the heights on the road to Lourinha ; while the Portuguese and General Crawford's brigade occupied another range which terminates at the landing-place at Maceira. The advanced-guard was deemed sufficient for the defence of the height to the southward and eastward of the town ; and General Hill with the remainder of the infantry moved to the centre of the mountain as a reserve for the whole.

The enemy began the action by an attack on the advanced-guard, but they were gallantly repulsed by the fire of the riflemen, and the bayonets of the

50th regiment. An attempt to penetrate the town was also defeated by the 2d battalion of the 43d regiment, a party of whom was posted in a church-yard to defend the road. General Ackland, with the 2d and 20th regiments of infantry, taking them at the same time in flank, they were driven back, after a desperate contest, with the loss of seven pieces of cannon. They were pursued to some distance by the 20th light dragoons, which suffered severely from the superiority of the enemy's cavalry, and their gallant leader, Lieutenant-Colonel Taylor, fell in the conflict.

The French made an attack, at the same time, on the Lourinha heights, but with no better success. They came on with their usual impetuosity, and the riflemen were driven in. They were, however, received by General Ferguson's brigade (the 36th, 40th, and 71st regiments) with a tremendous volley, and instantly brought to the bayonet. Though composed of the flower of the French army, and accustomed to conquer, the enemy stood appalled at the determined countenance of the British, during this decisive moment; their front rank instantly fell like a line of grass before the mower's scythe, and so sudden was the destruction, that the very men whose superior prowess was thus so decidedly proved, could not speak of it but with sentiments of involuntary awe. The French soon gave way, and were pursued with immense slaughter, leaving six pieces of cannon in the hands of the victors. General

Kellermann soon after made a vigorous attempt to recover the artillery from the 71st and 82d regiments, which were halted in the valley, but these corps retired from the low ground, and, having reached the heights, halted, faced about, and attacked the enemy, whom they drove from the valley with great loss.\*

The enemy's attack on the right of the centre was bravely met and repulsed by the 97th regiment, supported by the 2d battalion of the 52d, which, by an advance in column, took the enemy in

\* The French General Bernier was taken prisoner upon this occasion. He had been severely wounded in the action, and was on the point of being put to death by those into whose hands he had fallen, when he was rescued by a Highland corporal, of the 71st Regiment, named Mackay. In gratitude to his deliverer, the French General made him an offer of his watch and purse, which Mackay positively refused to take; and, when the general soon after expressed to Colonel Pack his astonishment at the disinterestedness of the corporal, the colonel replied, "We are British soldiers, Sir, and not plunderers." But the gallant Mackay had his reward. Sir Arthur Wellesley immediately promoted him to the rank of serjeant; and the Highland Society presented to him a gold medal, with a device and inscription expressive of his landable conduct. They also rewarded, with an elegant stand of Highland pipes, Stewart, a piper of the same regiment, who, after receiving a dangerous wound in the thigh, early in the action, exclaimed to his comrades, "*Weel, my bra' lads, I can gang nae farther wi' ye a fighting, but ye sal not want music.*" He would not suffer himself to be carried off the field, but, being placed in a convenient situation, he continued playing warlike airs to the end of the engagement.

flank. The French now gave way in all quarters, after the action had lasted not quite three hours. A tremendous fire was kept up during a great part of the time by the British artillery, belonging to the centre, placed in front of two white wind-mills on the height. The fire was returned by the enemy with great spirit; but it appeared through the whole that our artillery was much better served than theirs, and that the execution done, particularly by the newly-invented Shrapnell-shells, was prodigious. Their loss amounted to between three and four thousand killed and wounded, and thirteen pieces of cannon; that of the British to seven hundred and twenty killed, wounded, and missing. No field-officer fell, except the brave Colonel Taylor. Among the wounded were Majors Creagh of the 29th foot, Hearne of the 43d, Hill of the 50th, Mackenzie of the 71st, and Wilson of the 97th. The skill of the General, and the superior excellence of British troops were most strikingly manifested during this action. Not more than half of the British infantry was opposed to the enemy, while their artillery and cavalry were far superior in point of numbers. Of the latter the British had not five hundred, while that of the French was above twelve hundred. The victory was indeed decisive, and Napoleon's favourite plan of attacking by column, in order to break the line of his antagonists, was in vain attempted to be put in

execution against the steady, impenetrable line of a British army.

Sir Harry Burrard, who had been appointed second in command of the army in Portugal, arrived on the morning of the battle, after all the dispositions had been made; but though superior in rank to Sir Arthur Wellesley, he, with feelings of the most honourable delicacy, declined assuming the command till that general should have accomplished an operation which he had so well begun. After the action had terminated, Sir Arthur proposed to him to pursue the enemy, who were then retiring in great disorder; but Sir Harry Burrard declared his resolution to wait for the expected reinforcements under Sir John Moore, as the superiority of cavalry possessed by the enemy would enable him to draw reinforcements from head-quarters, while it would be impossible for the British to advance into the country at a distance from their victuallers. This fatal determination robbed Sir Arthur Wellesley, in a great measure, of the fruits of his victory; for to use his own words, which he uttered some time after in the House of Commons, 'if the enemy had been vigorously followed on the 21st, there would have been no reason for concluding the convention which had given so much offence.'

In consequence of this resolution, which cast a general gloom over the army, they halted at Vimi-  
era till the 24th, when they advanced to Torres  
Vedras. In the mean time, Sir Hew Dalrymple

superseded Sir Harry Burrard. He arrived from Gibraltar the morning after the battle, so that within twenty-four hours the British army had three different commanders-in-chief, a circumstance scarcely to be paralleled in the annals of war. A few hours after the arrival of Sir Hew Dalrymple, General Kellermann presented himself at headquarters with a flag of truce from Junot, to propose an armistice, during which a convention might be concluded for the evacuation of Portugal by the French. General Dalrymple appointed Sir Arthur Wellesley to communicate with Kellermann, and an armistice was quickly signed, the leading features of which were, that the French should be considered in no case as prisoners of war, but should be transported to France at the expense of the British Government, with their arms, baggage, and private property—that no person should be injured on account of his political conduct—that the port of Lisbon should be declared neutral, and that the Russian Fleet in the Tagus should be suffered to depart without being pursued, till after the limited period allowed in such cases by maritime law—and that all the artillery of French calibre, as well as their cavalry horses, should be sent to France.

The Convention which followed was signed at Cintra, on the 30th of August, by Sir Hew Dalrymple and General Junot. The terms seemed rather to be dictated by the vanquished than the victors, and the lustre of the hard-earned laurels

of Vimiera was considerably tarnished by this disgraceful treaty, which permitted a beaten enemy to retire from the scene of combat, at the expense of their conquerors, with their arms, military stores, and all the property which they had acquired, either by fraud or violence, in this oppressed and ill-fated country; and they were to be at liberty to serve immediately in any part of the world. The embarkation of the French troops was to take place in three divisions, the first to sail in seven days after the ratification of the Convention. All natives of Portugal, whatever might have been their political conduct, were to be at liberty to retire with the French, or remain in the country without molestation; and, in return for the release of the Spanish soldiers, who were in the power of the enemy, the British Commander-in-Chief engaged to use his best efforts, to procure the liberation of all French subjects, whether civil or military, detained in Spain for political causes. Admiral Sir Charles Cotton, much to the honour of the British navy, refused his assent to the article of the preliminary treaty, which respected the Russian squadron. A separate Convention was therefore signed, between him and the Russian Admiral Siniavin, by which it was agreed that the ships should be sent to England, and kept in deposit till six months after the conclusion of a peace between the two powers. The officers and seamen were allowed to return to

Russia, without any stipulation with regard to their future services.

The Portuguese were greatly exasperated at the terms granted, by this treaty, to the plunderers and oppressors of their country. Loud murmurs were heard in all quarters, and the Portuguese General Freire, as well as the Governor of Algarve, entered formal protests against the Convention. General Freire considered it as derogatory to the honour of his sovereign, and the independence of the nation, by securing impunity to those persons, who had been notoriously and scandalously disloyal, by joining the French party, and by giving up to the English the Portuguese fortified places, ships, and stores, without stipulating that the surrender was only momentary, and that they should be immediately restored to the legitimate Portuguese government. He also noticed the want of attention to the security of the inhabitants of Lisbon, who were still exposed to be vexed and oppressed by the enemy, during their stay, together with some other matters of inferior importance.

The Governor of Algarve, who was also President of the Junta of that province, required that a rigorous inventory should be taken of the baggage of the French, that they might not carry off the booty which they had so infamously obtained, and that the vessels employed to carry the French home to their own country, should be embargoed till the King of England and the

Prince Regent should resolve on what was best for the interest and honour of the two nations. These remonstrances united with the state of the public mind to point out to the British commander the serious difficulties in which he had involved himself and his country; but the rapacious conduct of the French troops, who, in violation of the treaty so recently ratified, continued to pillage various quarters of the capital, afforded him an opportunity of diminishing, in some degree, the ignominy attached to that transaction. A military commission was appointed, consisting of General Beresford and Lord Proby on the part of the English, and General Kellermann on that of the French, for the purpose of ascertaining what might justly be considered as private property, and restoring property of every kind confiscated or seized from the subjects or other persons residing in Portugal, or from the Royal Palace, public libraries or museums. The vigilant exertions of the commissioners compelled the plunderers to disgorge a great part of their ill-gotten booty; they were not, however, empowered to make them restore the heavy and exorbitant contributions which they had levied on the people during the ten months usurpation; and the French, notwithstanding the efforts of these officers, contrived, it is said, to carry off three months pay for the whole army in the military chest, besides large sums in the different regimental chests, one of which is reported to have contained not less than

one hundred thousand crowns. The people of Lisbon were only restrained by the presence of the British, from taking vengeance on their oppressors; and the French garrison of Almeida, which embarked at Oporto, would have been sacrificed by the people of that town, but for the exertions of the Bishop, Sir Robert Wilson, and some other officers.

The Convention of Cintra excited in England a degree of indignation, equally energetic with that manifested by the Portuguese nation. Public expectation had been raised to the highest pitch by the news of the glorious battle of Vimiera, but it was suddenly damped by the intelligence of the disgraceful and impolitic Convention, which, though it secured the evacuation of Portugal by the French, permitted them to leave it with military honour, in possession of a great part of their rapacious spoils, and at the expense of the British government, with perfect liberty to take the field again, as soon as they reached the soil of France: and, in fact, this very army, with Junot at their head, was engaged in active hostilities, in the north of Spain, a few months after their departure from Portugal. In various parts of England, meetings were held by the people to express their disapprobation of the terms of the Convention. The Corporation of London, partaking of the general feeling, addressed the throne, and requested an investigation of the conduct of the general who had concluded a treaty which they

stigmatized as disgraceful to the British arms, and highly injurious to the public interest. Though the government considered this a prejudging of the question, yet it was deemed right to gratify the public wish by investigating the transaction; and a Board of Inquiry was appointed for the purpose, of which Sir David Dundas was the president. The other members were, the Earl of Moira, General Craig, Lord Heathfield, the Earl of Pembroke, Sir George Nugent, and Lieut. Gen. Nicholls. Sir Hew Dalrymple, Sir Harry Burrard, and Sir Arthur Wellesley had, in the mean time, returned home, anxious that their conduct should be scrutinized. After a minute and laborious investigation of evidence, the Board delivered in a report on the 22d of December, in which they declared, that they considered any further military proceeding unnecessary, because, however some of them might differ in their sentiments respecting the fitness of the Convention in the relative situation of the two armies, it was their unanimous declaration, that unquestionable zeal and firmness appeared throughout to have been exhibited by the three generals. As this declaration contained, in fact, no opinion upon the conditions of the armistice and the convention, the Duke of York, as Commander-in-chief, called upon the Board for a more explicit declaration of their sentiments on these points. They accordingly met again, and with respect to the first question, the whole expressed their unanimous approval of

the armistice concluded by Sir Arthur Wellesley, with the exception of Earl Moira. On the second question, which related to the Convention itself, there were three dissenting voices, namely Lord Moira, Lord Pembroke, and General Nicholls. Though his Majesty adopted the opinion of the Board, that no farther military proceedings were necessary, yet he ordered his formal disapprobation of the Convention to be communicated to Sir Hew Dalrymple, in which he expressed his displeasure of that general's delaying to transmit for his information the armistice concluded on the 22d of August till the 4th of September, when he at the same time transmitted the ratified Convention. He also expressed his disapprobation of those articles in the Convention which directly affected the interests and feelings of the Spanish and Portuguese nations.

Though the high situation of Commander-in-chief held by Sir Hew Dalrymple, exposed him to all the responsibility and obloquy attendant upon this transaction, it is but fair to observe, that the Convention met the approbation of Generals Burrard, Moore, Fraser and Hope. Efforts were made to vindicate Sir Arthur Wellesley at the expense of the Commander-in-chief, but the former, with noble candor, disclaimed the disingenuous advocacy. He had, he said, argued with Sir Hew Dalrymple on the *principle* of the articles, though he differed with him in some of the details; he had signed the preliminaries at the

desire of Sir Hew Dalrymple, but not in consequence of any command or compulsion. In consequence of a paper delivered to the Board of Inquiry by Sir Hew Dalrymple, Sir Arthur found it afterwards necessary to enter into a more minute explanation of his conduct. He positively denied that he was the negotiator of the armistice with General Kellermann, and although he signed it, he was not responsible for its honor: he thought it expedient, that the French should be allowed to evacuate Portugal with their arms and baggage, but he made objections to some of the minor forms, which were over-ruled by Sir Hew Dalrymple; and he also expressly stated, that he was called by Sir Hew out of another room to sign the treaty, which he read throughout, and after making the observation, *that it was a most extraordinary one*, he signed it, but without feeling himself at all responsible for its contents. The thanks of both Houses of Parliament were voted during the ensuing session to Sir Arthur Wellesley for the glorious victory he had acquired at Vimiera; and when the Convention of Cintra came under discussion, the gallant general gave such a clear and manly exposition of his sentiments and conduct as made the most forcible impression on the House and the nation with respect to the part he had taken in the transactions under discussion.

## CHAP. XVIII.

Efforts of Napoleon to conceal from the French Nation the real state of affairs in the Peninsula.—He publishes an Exposition of his motives for attempting the Conquest of Spain.—Measures adopted for reinforcing the French Army in that Country.—Conference at Erfurth between Napoleon and the Emperor Alexander.—The two Monarchs address a Letter, containing Pacific Overtures, to the King of Great Britain.—Reply of Mr. Canning, the Minister for Foreign Affairs.—Discussions between Mr. Canning and the French and Russian Ministers.—Napoleon determines to put himself at the head of his Troops in Spain.—Relative situation of the hostile Armies in that Country.—Action at Lornosa.—Defeat of General Blake near Espinosa.—The French Emperor fixes his Head-quarters at Vittoria.—Bessieres and Soult enter Burgos, after an obstinate Conflict with Count Belveder.—Total Defeat of General Castanos at Tudela.—A British Army, under Sir John Moore, enters Spain; while another British Force, under Sir David Baird, lands at Corunna.—Plan of Operations.—Sir John Moore fixes his Head-quarters at Salamanca.—Disastrous situation of the affairs of Spain.—Sir John Moore determines to retreat upon Portugal.—Mr. Frere, the British Minister, deprecates this intention.—Colonel Charmilly arrives at Salamanca, with an exaggerated statement of the aspect of affairs at Madrid.—The British Commander resolves to form a Junction with Sir David Baird.—Misfortunes of the Army of Castanos.—The French advance on Madrid.—Treachery of Morla, the Governor.—Napoleon's Address to the Spanish Deputation.—Surrender of the Spanish Capital.—Napoleon's Proclamation to the Spaniards.—Further Progress of the French Armies.—The Province of Andalusia forms a Central Assembly at La Carolina.

**T**HE vigorous resistance made by the patriots of Spain and Portugal to the arbitrary and flagitious proceedings of their tyrannical oppressor, and the signal success which attended their first efforts, seem far to have surpassed all the calculations of Napoleon; who having secured the attachment of the members of the old government and many of the nobles, and kidnapped the whole of the Royal Family, had vainly hoped that the military murders committed by his army would be sufficient to intimidate the rest of the nation, and force them to the most abject submission to his will. When, however, the events of the first campaign discovered to him the real character of the Spaniards, his chief care was to conceal from his own subjects all knowledge of the sad reverses which his arms had experienced, until fresh troops were ready to be poured into the Peninsula. The Spaniards were represented in the French papers as receiving their new sovereign with every demonstration of joy—all disturbances were completely suppressed—they had been raised by the common people, for the purpose of pillaging the rich—bands of smugglers had opened the prisons, and put arms into the hands of felons, who committed various excesses on the peaceable inhabitants, but tranquillity was again restored in every quarter.—At Cadiz, where the insidious offers of the English were rejected, the public peace had

not been for a moment disturbed. The spies of England had, indeed, led astray a few insignificant individuals, but the Council of Castile had been completely successful in crushing the seeds of sedition. For a considerable time these accounts were implicitly believed in France, and in every part of the continent where the French influence was extended; and it was not till September, two months after the surrender of Dupont's army, and the capture of the ships at Cadiz, that any account of the important events that had occurred in Spain appeared in the French papers. It was even then published in such a way as still to conceal from the people the real truth. The insurrection was attributed to the artifices of England, aided by the Inquisition, (which the reader will recollect, so far from countenancing the Patriots, lent all its authority to the cause of the intruder.) The excesses of the Patriots were represented in the most dreadful light. Victories were claimed at Valencia and Saragossa, but the result of these sieges was unnoticed. The loss of the fleet was not mentioned. Dupont's defeat was attributed to his own misconduct, and the evacuation of Madrid was said to be occasioned by the desire of King Joseph to place his army in a milder climate than that of New Castile. England, it was asserted, in involving Spain in all this confusion, had no other object than to make herself mistress of the Spanish colonies.

The serious aspect of affairs induced Napoleon

at this time, to publish some exposition of the motives which led him to attempt the conquest of Spain. These were contained in two reports laid before the Senate on the 5th of September by Champagny, the Minister for Foreign Affairs. The first of them, which for obvious reasons, was dated so far back as the 24th of April, advised the Emperor to seize upon Spain, as the only effectual means of carrying on the war against England, as the old government was utterly incapable of making a vigorous use of the maritime resources which she possessed. Spain, it continued, must be either a useful friend, or a dangerous enemy—an intimate alliance must unite the two nations, or an implacable enmity separate them: the troubles of the League and the Fronde had been excited by the rivalry of the two nations, and the power of Louis XIV. did not rise till, after having conquered Spain, he placed his grandson on the throne of that country. An age of peace succeeded this act of provident policy, until the French Revolution broke the bond of union. Since that event, the Spanish Bourbons must, through their affection, their recollections, and their fears, be necessarily the secret and perfidious enemies of France. The work of Louis XIV. could only be re-established by placing on the throne of Spain a king, the friend of France by sentiment and interest, who would appropriate all the resources of Spain to her advantage, and to the success of that common cause which united

Spain to France and to the continent. What policy suggests, continued the report, justice authorizes; and it discovered proofs of a hostile disposition in the Spanish Bourbons, in various restrictions on French commerce, and the increase of their army before the battle of Jena. Independent of these considerations, said M. de Champagny, existing circumstances called for the Emperor's interference in the affairs of Spain. He could not sacrifice the cause of sovereigns by permitting Charles IV. to be precipitated from his throne by his son. He could not leave on that throne a prince who would not withdraw himself from the yoke of England; nor could he reinstate the father without overcoming a great resistance, and shedding French blood for a king, whose fate was of no consequence to her. Finally, he could not abandon the Spanish nation to themselves, which would be only leaving a new prey for England to devour. Thus, by this report, Napoleon openly avowed the opinion, that whatever is profitable must be just.

The same minister laid before the Senate another report, dated the 1st of September, which was intended to explain the gracious reasons, which had induced the Emperor to take upon him the office of a mediator between the divided Spaniards, and confer upon them the blessings of a new constitution and dynasty. But individual interests, and foreign intrigues had hitherto frustrated his benevolent intentions. All the dis-

turbances in Spain were occasioned by English gold. Would, then, his Majesty permit England to say, 'Spain is one of my provinces! My flag, driven from the Baltic, the North Sea, the Levant, and even from the shores of Persia, rules in the ports of France?' No, never! To prevent such a disgrace, two millions of brave men were ready to scale the Pyrennees, and chase the English from the Peninsula. It was represented as a matter of no small advantage to meet the English man to man, and make them feel the evils of war, of which they were ignorant, having only caused it by their gold. They will be beaten, said M. de Champagny, destroyed, or at least made to fly as they did at Toulon, at the Helder, at Dunkirk, in Sweden—their expulsion from Spain would be the ruin of their cause; it would exhaust their means, and annihilate their last hope. Here some hints were thrown out that the Emperor of Austria was increasing his military force, and that this was an additional cause why the Emperor should augment his armies, for the purpose of preserving the relative superiority between the power and population of the two empires.

A report was presented, at the same time, from the War Minister, which declared the Emperor's intention of assembling two hundred thousand men beyond the Pyrennees, besides adding eighty thousand to his armies in Germany, the North, and in Italy. All this was to be effected by subjecting to a fresh ballot all those persons, who had the

good fortune to escape from the conscription of the four preceding years, and levying in advance the services of others, which would not be due till 1810. But, notwithstanding the cruel and arbitrary nature of these proceedings, the obsequious Senate, whose base servility was not surpassed by their prototypes, in the most degraded ages of the Roman Empire, did not hesitate to yield to the tyrant's wishes, and sacrifice the flower of their youth to his ambition, because he had thought proper to place his brother on the throne of Spain.

Having thus secured the means for persevering in his ambitious projects, Napoleon, a few days after, addressed his troops assembled at the Carousel in his usual vaunting style. "Soldiers," said he, "after having triumphed on the banks of the Danube and the Vistula, you have passed through Germany by forced marches. I shall now order you to march through France, without allowing you a moment's rest. Soldiers, I have occasion for you! The hideous presence of the leopard contaminates the continent of Spain and Portugal. Let your aspect terrify and drive him thence! Let us carry our conquering eagles even to the Pillars of Hercules: there also we have an injury to avenge! Soldiers, you have exceeded the fame of all modern warriors. You have placed yourselves upon a level with the Roman legions, who, in one campaign, were conquerors on the Rhine, on the Euphrates, in Illyria, and

on the Tagus. A durable peace, and permanent prosperity shall be the reward of your exertions. A true Frenchman can never enjoy any rest till the sea is open and free. Soldiers, all that you have already achieved, and that which remains to be done, will be for the happiness of the French people, and for my glory, and shall be for ever imprinted on my heart."

The various roads now became thronged with troops marching towards the Pyrennees. In the mean time Napoleon set out for Germany, to hold a conference at Erfurth with his new ally the Emperor of Russia, and his vassal German princes. Some of the most celebrated performers of the French theatre preceded him to amuse the confederates in their vacant hours. The supposed object of the meeting was to adopt measures for overawing Austria; but Napoleon seized the opportunity of giving Alexander a hint of his own military superiority. He shewed him the field of Jena, where a temple, dedicated to Victory, was erected on the very spot where the French Emperor had passed the night previous to the battle; tents were pitched around it; and, after a sumptuous breakfast, the Czar was led over every part of the ground which the two armies had occupied, a sight calculated to awaken reflections in his mind, on the reward which Prussia had received for her long subserviency to France.

During the conference, the artful Napoleon had

prevailed on the Russian Emperor to acquiesce in his views regarding Spain; and, affecting a wish for universal peace, he persuaded Alexander to unite with him in a pacific overture to the King of Great Britain. A letter was written in their names, in which they expressed their great anxiety for a speedy peace with his Majesty, as the best remedy for the calamities which afflicted Europe. The continental war was represented as being at an end without the possibility of renewal. During its continuance many states had been overthrown, chiefly in consequence of that agitation and misery in which the suspension of maritime commerce had placed the greatest nations. More important changes might yet take place, in which the people of Great Britain would, probably, be more seriously affected—it was, therefore, as much their interest as that of the continent that peace should be restored. On these grounds the confederate monarchs entreated his Britannic Majesty to obey the dictates of humanity, and no longer yield to the impulse of passion; but by adopting conciliatory measures, preserve the existing powers, and secure the happiness of Europe. It was at the same time intimated, that the confederate Sovereigns were ready to send plenipotentiaries to any place agreed upon by all parties, and that the state of present possession would be accepted by the two Emperors as the foundation of a treaty.

This letter was most ably answered by Mr.

Canning, the British Minister for Foreign Affairs, in an official note. He asserted his sovereign's willingness to negotiate a peace on terms consistent with his own honour, and the permanent security of Europe. He denied that the miseries of the continent were, in the slightest degree, attributable to Great Britain, as the dreadful changes which had been effected were contrary to her policy. His Majesty had entered on the war for the immediate object of national safety; but in its progress, new obligations had been imposed upon him in behalf of powers, whom the aggression of the common enemy had compelled to make common cause with him, or who had solicited his assistance or support in the vindication of their national independence. The interests of Spain, Portugal, and Sicily were confided to his friendship and protection. He therefore assumed, that in an overture made to him for entering into negotiations for a general peace, his relations subsisting with the Spanish monarchy had been distinctly taken into consideration, and that the government acting in the name of his Catholic Majesty, Ferdinand VII. was understood to be a party to any negotiation in which he was invited to engage.

The Russian Minister, Romanzoff, protested against the admission of plenipotentiaries from the Spanish insurgents, (as he thought proper to term them,) to a participation of the conferences. His master, he said, had already acknowledged

Joseph as King of Spain, and he was resolved not to separate his interests from those of the French monarch. The French Minister Champagny, at the same time, derided in the most insulting tone, the idea of treating with insurgents; and asked what would the English Government have thought, if France had proposed to them to admit the Irish insurgents to the negociation? Mr. Canning's replies to these offensive communications were equally forcible and dignified. To M. Romanzoff he expressed the King's astonishment and regret, that it should be supposed he would ever abandon the cause of the Spanish nation, and the legitimate monarchy of that country, in deference to an usurpation which had no parallel in the history of the world; nor could he conceive by what obligation of duty or of interest, the Emperor Alexander could have found himself compelled to acknowledge the right assumed by France, to depose and imprison friendly sovereigns, and forcibly to transfer to herself the allegiance of loyal and independent nations. If such were the principles to which the Emperor had attached himself, most deeply did the King of England lament a determination by which the sufferings of Europe must be aggravated and prolonged. In his reply to the French minister, Mr. Canning, by his Majesty's orders, abstained from noticing the insulting topics contained in his note, but declared the firm resolution of the British government never to abandon the cause of the Spanish nation and its legitimate

sovereign. The rupture of the negotiation was made known to Europe by a declaration from his Britannic Majesty, which took a masterly view of the whole proceedings; and clearly developed that the only object of the confederated sovereigns at Erfurth, in making proposals for peace at this time, was to sow distrust and jealousy in the councils of those who were combined to resist the oppression of France, and to paralyze the exertions of those nations, who were balancing between the certain ruin of a prolonged inactivity, and the contingent dangers of an effort to save themselves from destruction.

In the mean time, the conferences at Erfurth had terminated, and Napoleon set out for his capital. His proposals for peace with England afforded a new and popular topic for his sycophants in the Senate. In his address to that body, on the 25th of October, he informed them, that he should depart in a few days to put himself in person at the head of his army; and, with God's help, to crown the King of Spain in Madrid, and plant his eagles on the forts of Spain. It was a distinguished favor of that providence, he said, which had constantly protected his army, that passion had so far blinded the English councils, that they had abandoned the defence of the seas, and at last produced their army on the continent. This vaunting and impiety was echoed back by the subservient Senate, but their adulation was far surpassed by that of

some Italian deputies, who had an audience of the Emperor on the same day. The destinies of the whole world, they told him, were confided by the Almighty to his impenetrable views, to the supreme power of his genius, to the miraculous exploits of his armies. Hence a new order of things, already written in the books of the Eternal, was prepared for their country. In the necessity in which he was to overthrow, to destroy, to disperse all enemies, as the wind dissipates the dust, he was not an exterminating angel; but he was the being that extends his thoughts, and measures the face of the earth, to re-establish happiness upon a better and surer basis. *He was destined before all ages to be the man of God's right hand; the sovereign master of all things!* A few days after this scene of ridiculous and impious adulation, Napoleon left Paris for Bayonne, which he reached on the 3d of November.

The French army, under Marshal Ney, did not, at the beginning of October, exceed sixty thousand men. They were stationed between the Bay of Biscay and the Ebro, having that river and the province of Arragon on their left. The Spanish force opposed to them was nominally rated at one hundred and thirty thousand, but, it is generally supposed, did not much exceed half that number. The left, or western army, under Blake, including the regiments which had escaped from Denmark, amounted to twenty thousand men, and occupied a line extending from Burgos to Bilboa. Palafox

commanded the eastern army, consisting of the forces of Arragon and Valencia. Part of these were stationed near Saragossa, and the remainder were advancing towards the Pyrennees, for the purpose of out-flanking the French on that side, as Blake did on the west. Castanos was at the head of the central army, and the whole three formed a crescent. The Supreme Junta appointed Don Francisco Palafox as their representative with the armies, having under him the Marquis de Coupigni and the Count de Montijo, to consult with the generals, and concert a plan of operations; a commission which manifested only the incapacity of the Junta, or a want of confidence in their generals.

The Spanish army, though probably at this period, superior to the enemy in numerical strength, was sadly defective in almost every other requisite to insure success. It was composed chiefly of new levies, badly armed, ill clothed, and scantily fed. The courage and patriotism of the generals was unquestionable, but they were far inferior to their opponents in the art of war. The enemy, on the other hand, were well provided with cavalry, artillery and stores, in the highest state of equipment, the men perfectly disciplined, and commanded by some of the ablest generals in Europe. They were besides posted in a strong country, the fortified places were in their possession, and they were continually receiving suc-

cours, which they knew would be speedily followed by powerful armies.

The French army, before the end of October, was reinforced to the number of one hundred and thirteen thousand men. The head-quarters were at Vittoria. The left wing, under Moncey, (Duke of Cornegliano) was posted along the Alagon and the Ebro, having his head-quarters at Rafalla. The corps of Ney (Duke of Elchingen) was at Guardia, and that of Bessieres (Duke of Istria,) at Miranda and Pancorbo. General Merlin, with another division, occupied the heights of Durango and Mondragon, which were menaced by the Patriots. The united force of the Spaniards did not exceed seventy-five thousand men, but they expected to be speedily joined by a British army of twenty-eight thousand, under Sir John Moore and Sir David Baird, which would place them on an equality with the enemy.

A plan of operations having been determined on about this period, General Castanos crossed the Ebro at three points, and took possession, without resistance, of Viana, Capporoso, and some other posts on the left bank of the river. The facility with which these places were yielded to the Spaniards, appeared afterwards to be part of a manœuvre for decoying Castanos as far as Pampe-luna, which proving but too successful, Marshal Ney crossed the Ebro on the 31st of October, with twenty-five thousand men, and attacked the main-body of Blake's army, which amounted to only

seventeen thousand, without artillery, at Lornosa. After an obstinate action of eight hours, the Spaniards were forced to fall back on Valmaseda, but they lost neither colours nor prisoners. Blake displayed great skill in the action, and had he been furnished with artillery, the result might have been very different. Blake now determined to fall back still farther, in order to form a junction with the Asturian army under the Marquis de Romana, which was effected near Valmaseda. The French, in the mean time, pursued with great celerity, and Lefebvre (Duke of Dantzic) entered Bilboa on the 3d of November. The Spanish general had scarcely taken up his position, when he was informed that ten thousand of the enemy were proceeding along the heights of Ontara, for the purpose of cutting off a part of his army which occupied that place. To prevent this misfortune, he advanced against them at break of day, on the 5th, and after an action which equalled in obstinacy that of the 31st of October, routed them with great slaughter, and took a number of prisoners. He pursued them beyond Urutia, and attacked them again on the 7th; but though he succeeded in out-flanking them, his centre was too weak to advance; he therefore thought it most prudent to re-occupy his post at Valmaseda. A slight attack was made upon his rear on the 8th. This was followed, on the 10th, by a general engagement near Espinosa, in which the force of the enemy nearly doubled that

of the Spaniards. It continued from noon till night, yet it proved indecisive. The battle was renewed on the following day, when the enemy succeeded in routing the left wing, composed of the Asturians. A retreat now became unavoidable, which would have been effected with little loss, had not the French obtained possession of a height which commanded the road by which the retreating army had to pass. This threw them into great confusion, and the men, worn out with fatigue, and despairing of succour, began to disperse.

Blake, with the remnant of his army, attempted to make another stand at Reynosa, one of the strongest positions in the chain of mountains which stretch from east to west along the boundary of the province of Biscay. Here, however, he was attacked by large bodies of fresh troops, while other columns appeared on the road from Burgos. Under these circumstances, he was obliged to continue his retreat to St. Vincente, a town situated on the shores of the Bay of Biscay. The brave General Riquelme was mortally wounded in one of the last actions. Routed as they were, his soldiers would not leave him in the hands of the enemy. They carried him to St. Andero, and he expired as they were conveying him into a ship.

Though ultimately defeated, Blake and his brave followers displayed the greatest gallantry in all these engagements. Never did soldiers suffer

greater privations. They were engaged with the enemy eight times in the space of a fortnight, and during the whole of that period they were in the open air, in the most inclement weather; and, though they were all without hats, and the greater part destitute of clothes and shoes, yet they bore these hardships without a murmur, and every man seemed willing to sacrifice his life for the safety of his country.

During these transactions the Emperor Napoleon arrived at Vittoria, where the French head-quarters were stationed. The numerous reinforcements which preceded and accompanied him are said to have increased his army in Spain to nearly two hundred thousand men, and the presence of their fortunate leader inspired the soldiery with all the confidence of victory. His arrival was the signal for the most active operations, and a strong division was despatched against the city of Burgos, which was occupied by the young Count Belveder, with a part of the Estremaduran army, consisting of Walloon and Spanish Guards, a few regiments of the line, and the students of the universities of Leon and Salamanca. The cavalry destined for this service was commanded by Bessieres (Duke of Istria,) and the infantry by Soult (Duke of Dalmatia.) The French were repulsed by the Patriots in two attacks on the city, but their superiority of number prevailed in the third, after an obstinate conflict of thirteen hours. They entered Burgos on the 10th of November, and

pursued the Count Belveder to Lerma and Aranda, from whence he afterwards retreated, and collected the wreck of his army at Segovia. The van of Soult's army entered St. Andero on the 16th, and the heroic Bishop, with several other Patriots, was forced to seek shelter on board the British ships.

Napoleon now fixed his head-quarters at Burgos, where, in the name of the intruder, he published a free pardon to all Spaniards, who, within one month after his arrival at Madrid, would lay down their arms, and renounce all connexion with England. The only persons excepted in this amnesty were the Dukes of Infantado, Híjar, Medina Coeli, and Ossuna, the Marquis of Santa Cruz, Counts Fernan Nunez and Allamera, the Ex-Minister of State Cevallos, and the Bishop of St. Andero, who, having deserted the intruder, were pronounced traitors to the two crowns of France and Spain; and, if taken, they were ordered to be brought before a military commission and shot. No obstruction now remained to the advance of Napoleon to Madrid, but the army of Castanos. The destruction of this force became therefore his grand object, and, for this purpose, Ney and Victor were ordered to proceed from Burgos to the Ebro, with unusual celerity, and throw themselves between the Spanish army and Saragossa, while the forces under Lasnes and Moncey should attack them in front. The inability of Ney's division, to perform the march in the

appointed time, saved the army of Castanos from total annihilation; and hearing, on the 21st, that the enemy was advancing on Coria, he fell back to a position extending from Tarragona to Tudela, and this movement was effected without loss. On the morning of the 23d, three French divisions were observed marching in the direction of Tudela. All the points of attack were occupied about eight o'clock, and two hours afterwards the whole line was engaged. The Spaniards sustained the attack for some time with great coolness and intrepidity, but it soon became apparent that Castanos had not manifested sufficient military skill in the dispositions he had made. Though urged by Palafox, he neglected to occupy some important heights, of which the French, taking advantage of this oversight, possessed themselves; and penetrating, soon after, the centre of the Spaniards, the battle was completely turned in favour of the enemy. The fourth division, under La Pena, which was two hours march from the field, when the battle began, found itself suddenly opposed to a corps of four thousand French, which it defeated, and pursued to the heights of Tudela; but, being attacked by the enemy from the heights, it was routed in its turn, and Castanos retreated with the wreck of his army to Calatayud. According to the French accounts, the Spaniards lost, in the unfortunate engagement at Tudela, five thousand prisoners, and four thousand left on the field of battle.

While the French Emperor was thus, by his victories, removing every obstacle to the possession of the Spanish capital, a British army had entered Spain, under Sir John Moore, in whom the command of the troops in Portugal had been vested, since the departure of the other generals for England, after the Convention of Cintra. The flattering picture which was drawn of the enthusiasm and numbers of the Spaniards, in the proclamations and other public documents of the Juntas, excited the most sanguine expectations that the French would speedily be expelled from the Peninsula; and Lord William Bentinck was sent to Madrid, to arrange a plan of co-operation between the British and Spanish armies. In a letter, dated the 30th of September, Lord Castlereagh informed his Lordship, that it was intended to employ a British force in Spain, little short of forty thousand men, including five thousand cavalry, and the necessary proportion of artillery; that Sir David Baird was ordered to proceed to Corunna with several thousand men; and that Sir John Moore would move the remainder of the force, either by land or sea, as might be most convenient. It was determined that Corunna should be the principal depot from which they would operate; and the Asturian army, with those of the Marquis de Romana and Blake, would form a force in that quarter of sixty or seventy thousand men, exclusive of the armies operating towards the front and left of the enemy's line.

This plan was well calculated to give effectual aid to the Spanish Patriots, but the British army in Portugal, was by no means in a state of equipment necessary for so long a march, and a coasting voyage at that season of the year was considered uncertain and dangerous. The army was unprovided with carriages, for the artillery or commissariat stores. No magazines were formed on the line of march, and the commissariat department was in such a state, that there was little hope of a speedy remedy. To overcome these obstacles required so much time, that Sir John Moore could not leave Lisbon till the 27th of October, near a month after he had received his appointment. Even then fresh impediments occurred. The road through the mountains, which form the northern boundary of Portugal, was represented as impassable for artillery, and the Spanish Commissary-General declared his inability to furnish provisions on the road by Elvas. It became, therefore, necessary to divide the army. Five brigades of artillery, the whole of the cavalry, and four regiments of infantry, under General Hope, marched by Elvas, on the Madrid road, to Badajos and Espinar, from whence they were to join the Commander-in-Chief at Salamanca, by the Escorial road. Three brigades of infantry, under General Paget, moved onwards by Elvas and Alcantara; two brigades, under General Beresford, by Coimbra and Almeida; and three brigades, under General Fraser, by

Abrantes and Almeida. The whole amount of the forces, which left Portugal, was eighteen thousand six hundred and twenty-eight, of which only nine hundred and twelve were cavalry.\* Previous to the departure of the Commander-in-Chief from Lisbon, he received advice of the arrival of Sir David Baird at Corunna, on the 13th of October, but that he was not permitted to land his troops, till orders had been received from the Junta at Madrid. This information gave Sir John Moore some idea of the assistance he was to expect from the Spanish government.

\*Effective Troops, who marched from Portugal, under Sir John Moore.

Royal Artillery .....	686	Brought forward .....	12,483
16th Light Dragoons .....	565	62d 2d batt. ....	381
3d do. German Legion .....	347	71st .....	724
2d (Queen's) Foot .....	616	79th .....	838
3d .....	816	82d .....	812
4th .....	754	91st .....	698
5th .....	833	92d .....	900
6th .....	783	95th (Rifle) .....	467
9th .....	607	95th 2d batt. ....	331
20th .....	499	Staff Corps .....	61
28th .....	750	1st L. B. German Legion .....	803
32d .....	756	3d -----	865
36th .....	736		19,363
38th .....	823	2d Regiment left to keep up the } communication with Portugal }	716
42d .....	860		18,638
43d 2d Battalion, ....	411		
60th .....	794		
52d -----	828		
	12,483		

Effective Strength of Sir David Baird's Corps.

Artillery .....	611	26th Foot .....	745
7th Hussars .....	497	43d -----, 1st batt. ....	817
10th .....	514	51st -----	516
15th .....	527	59th -----	557
1st Foot Guards, 1st bat. ....	1300	76th -----	654
-----, 3d bat. ....	1027	81st -----	615
1st Foot, 3d bat. ....	697	96th -----	699
14th -----, 2d bat. ....	560		
23d -----	496		

10,723

Before the army commenced its march, the Commander-in-Chief issued general orders, in which he warned the troops against intemperance, and endeavoured to impress upon them the propriety of accommodating themselves to the manners of the people of the country whither they were going. The Spaniards, he informed them, were a grave, orderly people, extremely sober, but generous, and warm in their tempers, and easily provoked by insult or disrespect. He lamented the illness that already prevailed in the army, owing to their intemperance, but he trusted he need say no more to insure their future sobriety. In passing through the Portuguese territory, the conduct of the men was extremely orderly, and presented a striking contrast to that of their predecessors, the French, although the British had many difficulties to encounter, and the divisions of Generals Fraser and Beresford were obliged to be halted, for want of provisions. On the 12th of November, the van-guard reached Ciudad-Rodrigo, in the Spanish territory, where it was received with enthusiastic shouts of "*Viva los Ingleses*;" and, on the following day, the head-quarters were fixed at Salamanca, where the greater part of the army was assembled on the 24th.

As Sir John Moore approached the scene of action, he became better acquainted with the real state of affairs in Spain; and, by the close correspondence he kept up with Lord W. Bentinck,

Mr. Stuart, Col. Graham (now Lord Lyendock,) and others, he was enabled to penetrate the disguise in which the Spanish government had enveloped their affairs. The armies of Blake and Castanos, on which he had been taught to depend for co-operation and support, were already routed and dispersed, while the councils of the government were distracted by self-interest, mutual jealousies, and discords. The Supreme Junta seemed more anxious to guard against internal revolutions, than the danger which so imminently pressed from a foreign enemy; and while their vaunting proclamations, and exaggerated numbers had the effect of deceiving their allies, and bringing them into the most serious difficulties, their arch-foe was enabled to receive exact information from traitors among themselves, some of whom appeared to be most ardently devoted to the cause of their country. Under these circumstances, Sir John Moore found himself compelled to remain inactive. From this moment he began to despair of the cause of Spain, and he regretted his advance into the country, without having previously ascertained the real sentiments of the Spanish nation, and their ability to resist the invaders.

In the night of the 14th of November, the Commander-in-Chief was awakened by an express from General Pignatelli, the governor of the province, that the French had possession of Valladolid, only twenty leagues from Salamanca.

He had then with him only three brigades of infantry, and not a single gun. His reinforcements could not arrive in less than ten days, and the Spanish armies had shrunk to the opposite extremities of Biscay and Arragon. In this moment of difficulty, he assembled the Junta of the place, and explained to them the probable necessity of a retreat to Ciudad-Rodrigo. They heard him with the most provoking apathy, and, with the exception of the peasantry and lower classes, the people seemed to behold the approaches of the French and English with equal indifference. He was, however, speedily relieved from the anxiety which the advices from Pignatelli were calculated to inspire, as only a thousand French cavalry had entered Valladolid, from which they retired on the following day. The infantry had not, at that time, advanced beyond Burgos.

As every day brought intelligence of fresh disasters, orders were despatched by Sir John Moore, to Generals Baird and Hope to join him without delay: the opposite routes by which these two corps had to approach Salamanca, did not permit him to move towards the one, without retreating from and hazarding the safety of the other; and the junction could not be expected to take place before the beginning of December. Sir David Baird, who had signalized himself in Indian warfare, and conducted, with great ability, across the deserts of Arabia, the army from the

East destined to co-operate with Sir Ralph Abercrombie, in the expulsion of the French from Egypt, found that upon the present occasion he had still greater difficulties to surmount. He had to march through a country where a travelling party can scarcely obtain food, while his commissaries were, at the same time, not only ignorant of the business of their department, but of the language of the country. The difficulty of obtaining provisions obliged Sir David to divide his army into small detachments, which followed each other at considerable intervals. General Baird could not attempt to advance till his whole force was collected, which would not be sooner than the 4th of December, and the defeat of Blake's army, should the enemy advance through the Asturias, exposed his rear to imminent danger. A report from General Blake, that the French were advancing in force from Rio Seco, determined Sir David Baird to retreat to Corunna, but Sir John Moore undeceived him on this point, and sent him orders immediately to effect his junction.

Upon this occasion, the British Commander-in-Chief seems to have been influenced by the accounts he had received of the march of the French against Castanos, but the intelligence of the total defeat of that General, which arrived on the 28th of November, destroyed his last remaining hope, and he determined to retire upon Portugal. It had always been his opinion, that the south and not the north of Spain should have

been fixed upon as the scene of action, and that the British should have been disembarked at Cadiz instead of Corunna. In a letter to Mr. Frere, the British Ambassador at Madrid, he declared his intention of falling back upon his resources at Lisbon, covering that country, and returning to the assistance of the Spaniards, should circumstances render it eligible. In another letter, written the same day to Mr. Stuart, he expressed his great anxiety to give the cause of Spain all the aid in his power, but from the little ability displayed by the government, or those employed to direct their armies, as well as the apathy of the people, and the little means prepared for resistance, he did not see how they could stand against the enemy. He declared that he had not a shilling, and that in Salamanca he was unable to raise so small a sum as £5000. Mr. Frere, in the name of the Junta, deprecated a retreat upon Portugal, as a measure that would depress the spirits of the whole country. He stated that not more than eleven thousand French troops were in the neighbourhood of Madrid, that the people were determined to defend the town, and he conceived that great advantages would result from the speedy advance of the British army to cover the capital. Should not this plan be approved of by the Commander-in-Chief, Mr. Frere recommended his retaining the position of Astorga, from whence a retreat, if necessary,

might be effected with less difficulty to Corunna, than through Portugal to Lisbon.

But the arguments of the ambassador did not shake the resolution of Sir John Moore, with whom the consideration was not now how he should serve the cause of Spain, but how he should provide for the safety of his own army, and whether it would not be more advisable to retire upon his resources at Lisbon, than, with twenty-nine thousand British troops, wait the undivided attack of one hundred thousand French. He resolved to carry his resolution of retreating into effect, and while General Baird was ordered to retire upon Corunna, General Hope, who had reached the neighbourhood of Madrid, was directed either to join the main body, or retire upon Guadarama. Having assembled his General Officers, he acquainted them with his resolution, and his reasons for adopting it. He took the responsibility entirely upon himself, and only required that they should prepare for carrying it into effect.

Fresh intelligence from Madrid, however, which arrived about this time, induced Sir John Moore to abandon this plan. A letter from Mr. Stuart stated, on the authority of Don Thomas Morla,\*

\* It soon appeared that this traitor was not only plotting at this time the ruin of his country, but also the destruction of the British army which had come to its protection.

the chief ruler of the Junta, that General St. Juan, with twenty thousand men, had twice repulsed the enemy at Sepulveda: that Castanos was bringing the greater part of his force from Calatayud to join him: that the enemy had only small foraging parties in Castile; and that Napoleon was at Burgos. Not trusting to the false statements which Morla had made to the British Minister, two Spanish generals were sent to Salamanca, who were the bearers of a letter to the British Commander, signed by the Prince of Castel-Franco and Thomas Morla, on the 2d of December, at the very moment when they were capitulating with the conqueror at the gates of Madrid. This letter stated, that Castanos's army, amounting to about thirty-five thousand, was falling back, and the force which was at Somosierra, amounting to ten thousand, was also coming to the city, where nearly forty thousand men would join them. With this number, the enemy's army was not to be feared; but, lest it should increase, the Junta hoped his Excellency the British Commander-in-Chief would, with all expedition, fall back to unite with their army, or take the direction to fall on the rear of the enemy.

While Sir John Moore was considering this letter, Colonel Charmilly, a French emigrant officer in the British service, arrived with despatches from Mr. Frere, dated from Talavera de la Reyna, urging in the most pressing manner,

an advance upon Madrid. Colonel Charmilly informed the Commander-in-Chief, that he was in Madrid on the night of the 1st of December, when the inhabitants were working by torch-light at the trenches, breaking up the streets, and barricading the houses; that he had seen the Duke del Infantado, who told him that a new Junta had been formed, of which he was the president; that there were provisions and ammunition in Madrid; that thirty thousand men had enrolled themselves that day as volunteers; and that it was of the utmost importance that the British should make a diversion, which would compel the French to divide their forces. It was the determination of the Duke, he added, to defend Madrid to the last extremity. Another grandee, he said, had requested him to inform Sir John, that he must employ this moment to save Spain, by making conditions with the Junta for a better government, but especially that he should require the Spanish army to be put under the orders of a British general. At Talavera he had met Mr. Frere, following the Central Junta, who were retiring from Aranjuez to Badajoz. The Ambassador requested him, as a Colonel in the British service, to take charge of a letter for Sir John Moore, urging him to suspend his retreat, as a measure which would be highly injurious both to England and Spain, and he offered to take upon himself any responsibility that might attach to this advice. Mr. Frere, at the same time, gave Colonel

Charmilly a second letter, to be delivered in case the general persisted in his plan of retreat. This letter proposed that the bearer might be examined before a Council of War, that its decision might exonerate the Commander-in-Chief from the responsibility by which he might otherwise have felt himself fettered.

As the instructions of Sir John Moore were to pay the greatest deference and attention to the representations of the Spanish government and the British Ambassador, he retired to reflect upon the contents of Mr. Frere's letter and the communication of Colonel Charmilly; and conceiving on these authorities, that a considerable improvement had taken place in the state of public affairs, he wrote that night to Sir David Baird, desiring him to suspend his retrograde march. A letter, however, to Lord Castlereagh, of the same date, shewed that he placed little confidence in the display of patriotism at Madrid. In another letter to Sir David Baird, dated the 6th of December, he directed him to return with all expedition to Astorga.—“What is passing at Madrid,” said he, “may be decisive of the fate of Spain, and we must be at hand, to aid and take advantage of whatever happens—The wishes of our country and our duty demand this of us, with whatever risk it may be attended.—I mean to proceed bridle in hand, for if the bubble bursts, and Madrid falls we shall have a run for it.” From the concluding words it is apparent that he placed little confi-

dence in the patriotism or exertions of the Spaniards.

The determination of Sir John Moore to suspend his retreat not being known in Salamanca, Charmilly supposed his second letter necessary, and accordingly delivered it. Sir John Moore, conceiving this to be an unauthorised assumption of diplomatic authority, expressed himself in very warm language, and ordered Charmilly to quit the city. He wrote, however, to Mr. Frere, informing him, that every thing in his power should be done for the assistance of Madrid and the Spanish cause, but that he could not make a direct movement on the capital, while the passes of Guadaramma and Somosierra were in the hands of the enemy.

Sir John now determined to form his junction with Sir David Baird, and for this purpose he ordered a corps to move on the 10th to Zamora and Toro, while Sir David should push on his troops by brigades to Benevente. His fears, however, were confirmed on the 9th, by the arrival of Colonel Graham from Talavera, with the intelligence that Morla and Castel Franco had betrayed Madrid; that between twenty and thirty thousand French were at the Retiro, but they had not taken possession of the city, in consequence of the temper of the inhabitants. This disastrous information did not induce the General to alter his plan, as his object now was to threaten the French communications, draw their attention

from Madrid and Saragossa, and thus favour any movements that might be projected by the armies forming on the south of the Tagus. We must, however, turn for a moment from the present scene of action, to notice the important events which led to the reduction of the Spanish capital.

It has been already stated, that Castanos, after the unfortunate battle of Tudela, retreated to Calatayud, where it was expected he would have made a stand; but the Central Junta had taken no precautions for securing this important place, and the troops found there neither stores nor provisions. Desperate with hunger and fatigue, they plundered the houses of the inhabitants, and, when every other resource failed, some devoured cabbage-leaves or other crude vegetables, while numbers perished from want. But the military measures of the government were now under the direction of the traitor Morla, who was plotting to deliver up his country to the intruder. Instead of making a stand at Calatayud, Castanos was ordered to hasten with his army to the defence of Madrid; and on the 27th he recommenced his retreat by the way of Sigüenza, from whence he could either repair to Somosierra, if that position could be retained, or to the capital, if the public service required it. Don Francisco Venegas, who commanded the rear-guard of five thousand men, was ordered to secure the retreat of the other divisions, by defending the pass of Breviesca, a duty which he performed with the greatest gal-

lantry, on the morning of the 29th, by resisting the attack of eight thousand French, under Mathieu, and effectually disabling this corps from continuing the pursuit.

Such was the state of wretchedness and insubordination to which the Spanish army was reduced by the miseries they had suffered, that, before it reached Siguenza, it was wasted down to eight thousand men. Here Castanos, receiving a summons from the Central Junta, resigned the command to General La Pena, who, on the last day of November, was ordered to march with all expedition to Somosierra. On the way, however, they received the fatal intelligence that the pass of Somosierra was lost; and at Guadalajara they were informed that the attack of the capital had commenced.

The French Emperor lost no time after the battle of Tudela, to despatch a considerable force against Madrid. On the 30th of November, Victor's division arrived at a pass of the Sierra Morena, called Puerto, forming a narrow neck of land. Thirteen thousand Spaniards were posted here under the command of General San Juan, defended by a trench fortified with sixteen pieces of cannon. A smart contest ensued, but a charge of Polish light horse, headed by General Montbrun, compelled the Spaniards to give way; and, on the 1st of December, Bessieres with the French cavalry came within sight of Madrid, and took possession of the heights, and Napoleon himself

arrived there on the following day, which was the anniversary of his coronation.

The fatal effects of the conduct of the Junta now became fully apparent. Instead of rousing the people to a sense of their danger, while the enemy were advancing towards them with rapid strides, they had lulled them into a false security, by exaggerating the numbers and prowess of their own troops, and diminishing the forces of the French. To the traitor Morla, in whom the people, recollecting his patriotic conduct at Cadiz, had placed the utmost confidence, was entrusted the defence of the city, but he adopted no measures for that purpose until several days after the defeat of Castanos. Not more than six thousand regular troops were in the capital, but sixty thousand of the inhabitants were ready to die in its defence; and it was evident, that had they such a spirit as Palafox to direct them, Madrid would have emulated Saragossa. They began to erect batteries, and barricade the streets; they tore up the pavements, and carried the stones to the tops of the houses, where parapets were erected: but Madrid was already sold to the enemy by men whom the inhabitants least suspected. It would have been doing violence to their nature to entertain suspicions of a man who had written and acted like Morla. A report having been circulated that sand had been put into their cartridges, the Marquis de Pierales, who was charged with this piece of treachery, fell a

victim to the fury of the populace. The monks were employed in making new cartridges, and every thing announced the general enthusiasm.

On the 2d of December, Bessieres sent an *aid-du-camp* to summons the capital, but such was the indignation of the people, that he would have been torn in pieces had not the Spanish soldiery protected him. As the French infantry were still three leagues from the city, Napoleon employed the evening in reconnoitering, and arranging the plan of attack. He ordered the suburbs to be occupied, and the artillery placed in the necessary positions.

The infantry coming up about midnight, a Spanish colonel, who had been made prisoner at Somosierra, was sent in with a letter from General Berthier to the Marquis de Castillar, entreating him to save the city from the horrors of an assault by an immediate surrender. Castillar, in a reply which he sent on the morning of the 3d, required a suspension of arms for the day, that he might consult the constituted authorities. But an attack had already commenced upon the Retiro, which was taken after about a thousand Spaniards had fallen in its defence. All the other fortified places outside the walls were also taken by the French, and some shells thrown into the town.

Berthier sent in a third summons on the 4th, demanding submission in the most peremptory terms. The firing ceased soon after, and at five in the afternoon, Morla and Don Bernardo

Yriarte came out to Berthier's tent. They acknowledged that Madrid was without resources; but as the populace and volunteers from the country were determined to persevere in its defence, they requested a pause of a few hours to make the populace acquainted with their real situation. This was evidently the language of treason, at a moment when sixty thousand men resolved to render Madrid another Saragossa. The deputies being introduced to Bonaparte, he addressed them with a tirade of abuse that was well calculated to conceal the traitorous proceedings of the latter. "You make use of the name of the people," said he, "to no purpose; if you cannot restore tranquillity and appease their minds, it is because you have excited them to revolt, and seduced them by propagating falsehoods. Assemble the clergy, the heads of the convents, the alcaldes, the men of property and influence, and let the town capitulate by six o' clock in the morning, or it shall be destroyed. I will not, nor ought I, withdraw my troops." Then addressing himself particularly to Morla, he added, "the incapacity and cowardice of a general had put into your power, troops who surrendered on the field of battle, and the capitulation has been violated. You, Mr Morla, what sort of an epistle did you write to that general? It well becomes you, Sir, to talk of pillage; you, who, entering Rousillon, carried off all the women and distributed them as booty among your soldiers! Besides, what right had you to hold such lan-

guage? The capitulation ought to have induced you to pursue a different line of conduct. See what has been the conduct of the English, who are far from piquing themselves on being rigid observers of the law of nations. They have complained of the Convention of Portugal, but they have carried it into effect. To violate military treaties is to renounce all civilization; it is placing generals on a footing with the Bedouins of the desert. How dare you thus presume to solicit a capitulation, who violated that of Baylen? See how injustice and bad faith always recoil upon the guilty, and operate to their prejudice. I had a fleet at Cadiz; it was under the protection of Spain, yet you directed against it the mortars of the town where you commanded.—I had a Spanish army in my ranks; I would rather have viewed it embark on board the English ships; or be obliged to precipitate it from the rocks of Espinosa, than to disarm it; I would rather have seven thousand more enemies to fight, than be deficient in honour and good faith.—Return to Madrid—I give you till six o'clock to-morrow morning—return at that hour—you have only to inform me of the submission of the people—if not, you and your troops shall be put to the sword.”

Having none to direct them in whom they could confide, the ardour of the people began, by this time, to subside, and finding themselves deserted and betrayed, every man consulted his own personal safety. The Marquis de Castillar, who was

Captain-General of the province, and all the military officers of rank, refused to enter into any terms, and with the main-body of the troops and sixteen guns, marched out of the city on the 4th, and effected their retreat. This example was followed by many of the loyal inhabitants, and on the morning of the 5th, the French took possession of the city. Morla secured good terms for himself and his base associates. His fortune and military rank were preserved to him; and to render himself acceptable to his new master, he wrote a letter some time after to the Andalusians for the purpose of drawing them over to the interests of Joseph, whom he described as a monarch of great mildness, and exquisite humanity of disposition. A mockery of capitulation was entered into by him a few days after his surrender, the principal articles of which were, that no religion should be tolerated except the Catholic; that no person should be molested for his political conduct; that no contributions should be raised, but the ordinary ones; and that no French troops should be quartered on private houses or convents.

Napoleon, having now secured the possession of the Spanish capital, proceeded to the adoption of those measures which he deemed necessary to the establishment of his authority. The Council of Castile was dissolved, the Inquisition abolished, and the number of convents reduced to one third. These proceedings were followed by a proclamation addressed to the Spaniards, in which he expa-

tiated on the folly of their attempts to resist his will. A few marches had been sufficient to defeat their armies, and he should soon drive the English from the Peninsula. He wished to be their regenerator, and all that had obstructed their prosperity and their greatness he had destroyed. He graciously promised every thing that the benignity of his nature could bestow, provided they quietly received his brother, and swore allegiance to him: but, "should all my efforts," said he, "prove fruitless, and you should not merit my confidence, nothing will remain for me but to treat you as conquered provinces, and to place my brother upon another throne. I shall then set the crown of Spain upon my own head, and cause it to be respected by the guilty; *for God has given me power and inclination to surmount all obstacles.*"

While these events took place in Madrid, General San Juan, who had been driven from the pass of Somosierra, reached Segovia, where he formed the troops that had retired from Sepulveda. He marched from thence to Guadarama, where he united with another body under General Herria, and descended to the Escorial. He received orders at this place to advance to Madrid, but a cry of treason being excited on the march, the van-guard dispersed, and a handful of men only remained with the generals when they approached the capital, and discovered that the city had been betrayed. No other course remained for them than

to repair to Talavera, where twenty thousand men, many of whom had escaped from Madrid, were now assembled. They were preceded thither by the rabble of the army, who plundered as they went, and who, apprehensive of the punishment their misconduct merited, raised a cry of treachery against St. Juan, and put him to death in the convent of the Augustines, where he had taken up his quarters. The murderers saved themselves by flight, and the remainder of the army, not knowing whom they were to obey, quickly dispersed.

Bodies of French troops were sent in various directions in pursuit of the flying Spaniards: Bessieres and Victor followed the remnant of the army of Castanos, the van-guard of which commanded by Venegas, was joined at Guadalaxara by the Duke del Infantado. The French entered the city at one gate, while the Spaniards left it at another, and Venegas continued his retreat without loss till he reached Santorcaz, where he took a position. The plan of La Pena, the Commander-in-Chief, was to cross the Tagus at Aranjuez, and take shelter in the mountains of Toledo; but new difficulties and dangers impeded the execution of this plan; their retreat to Andalusia was cut off by General Ruffin, who had crossed the Tagus at Aranjuez, and pushed on to Ocana. Nothing remained but to cross the river at Villamanrique, Fuente-Duenas, and other places, and make for the Sierras of Cuenca. This was happily effected on the 7th with little loss, and on the 11th

they entered Cuenca, after a retreat of four hundred and fifty miles, which the soldiers in the midst of their disasters had borne with exemplary patience and fortitude. Traitors succeeded at this time to excite a spirit of mutiny amongst some corps of the army, which induced La Pena to resign the chief command to the Duke del Infantado, an appointment which was afterwards ratified by the Central Junta, and gave general satisfaction to the nation.

The whole of those extensive plains which form the centre or table-land of Spain, lay now at the mercy of the invaders. Detachments from Victor's corps took possession of Aranjuez and Ocana, and on the 19th he entered Toledo. Having neither artillery nor ammunition to defend the place, the Junta, all the legitimate authorities, and the most distinguished inhabitants had previously deserted the city, and retired with the most valuable part of their property to the free part of the Peninsula, preferring all the privations, to which, by this step, they would expose themselves, to a base submission to the ravager of their country. Parties of French cavalry over-ran the open and defenceless plains of La Mancha, plundering the towns and villages as far as Manzanares; but repeated attacks on the little townlet of Villacanas were bravely repulsed by the inhabitants, whose gallant conduct was rewarded by certain immunities granted by the government. Sebastiani moved with his corps upon Talavera, which was

entered by a body of French troops under Milhaud and Lasalle four days after the murder of San Juan. Don Josef Galluzzo, who succeeded him, took post with about eight thousand men at the bridge of Almaraz. Considerable efforts were made by the inhabitants of Estremadura to supply the wants of the troops, and impede the progress of the enemy, but the latter succeeded, at length, in obtaining possession of the bridge of Almaraz, and the Spaniards were compelled to retreat to Truxillo, where the greater part dispersed.

This was not the only French division which advanced in the direction of Portugal. Lefebvre was ordered to proceed thither from Valladolid. He entered Segovia without resistance, and found the pass of Guadaramma open, General Hope who occupied it, having been recalled by Sir John Moore; but at the Escorial the peasantry assembled to defend the seat and sepulchres of their Kings; and though undisciplined and unarmed, they did not yield till, overpowered by the superiority of the enemy, numbers of them were slaughtered before the gates of the palace.

During these transactions the Junta of Ciudad Real (the capital of La Mancha,) and of the four kingdoms of Jaen, Granada, Cordova, and Seville, which compose the province of Andalusia, formed a Central Assembly at La Carolina. Their first object was to adopt measures for fortifying the gorge of Despenaperros, a pass in the Sierra Morena, which they considered as another Thermopylæ,

where the progress of their ruthless invaders might be withstood. Being destitute, however, of an army, the Marquis de Palacios was sent to form one, and the Juntas of Andalusia and La Mancha raised new levies for this service. All the troops at Cadiz, with the exception of three hundred men were ordered thither, and several pieces of artillery were mounted upon the works which were thrown up to defend this important position. But all their efforts at resistance would probably have proved unavailing, had not the attention of Bonaparte, at this time, been chiefly fixed on the English army, whose unexpected continuance in the country had restrained their exertions, which, in the present state of things, must inevitably have terminated in at least the temporary subjugation of the whole Peninsula.

## CHAPTER. XIX,

**Proceedings of Sir John Moore.**—He unites his whole force at Mayorga.—Brilliant Exploit of the British Cavalry.—Napoleon uses great exertions to accomplish the destruction of the English Army.—Sir John Moore determines on a Retreat.—Sufferings and Excesses of the Troops.—Defeat of the French Imperial Guard, and capture of General Lefebvre by the British Cavalry under Lord Paget.—Dreadful Miseries sustained by the Army on its march from Astorga to Villa Franca.—General Merle is repulsed by the British Rear-Guard.—Affecting Incident—Sir John Moore offers the Enemy Battle at Lugo—The Army reaches Corunna—The Transports not having arrived, the British General prepares for Battle—Soult's Army takes up a Position on the neighbouring Heights.—Battle of Corunna.—Death of Sir John Moore.—Defeat of the French.—Embarkation of the British Army.—Brief Memoir of Sir John Moore.—Reflections on this celebrated Retreat.—Capture of Reggio and Scylla in Calabria by the French.—Naval Affairs.

**T**HOUGH the Spanish capital had surrendered, Sir John Moore still determined to form his junction with Sir David Baird, which might enable him to threaten the enemy's communications, give time to the scattered armies of the Spaniards to re-assemble, and enable the provinces in the south to put forth their best energies in the common cause. If no advantage were taken of this movement, he knew that the French might turn against

him an overwhelming force, in which case a retreat would become unavoidable; and to be prepared for a contingency so likely to occur, he sent despatches home, requesting that transports might be ready at Lisbon and at Vigo to receive the troops.

General Hope's division joined the main-body of the army on the 4th. On the 13th of December the Commander-in-Chief left Salamanca, and fixed his head-quarters at Alaejos. On the same day Brigadier-General Stewart, at the head of the 18th light dragoons, fell in with three or four hundred French cavalry at Rueda, whom he entirely defeated, killing sixteen and taking thirty-five prisoners. Sir John Moore's intention was to proceed to Valladolid; but he was induced to alter his plan by an intercepted letter from Berthier to Soult, directing the latter to take possession of Leon, drive the English into Galicia, and make himself master of Benevente and Zamora. Every thing, said the letter, evinced, that the English were in full retreat. It also appeared from this despatch, that Soult had with him two divisions at Saldanha; that Junot was collecting another at Burgos; and that Mortier was ordered to march against Saragossa. Under these circumstances, Sir John Moore deemed it most desirable to unite his army at Toro, while Sir David Baird did the same at Benevente, from whence the two corps might be joined, and strike a blow against Soult, before he received his rein-

forcements. He also meditated a junction with the Marquis de Romana's force at Leon, which was represented in a very defective and disorganized state, not exceeding eight thousand men.

The Commander-in-Chief, continuing his march by Zamora, Villapardo, and Valderas, reached Mayorga on the 20th, where a junction took place of the whole British force, amounting to near twenty-six thousand effective troops, of whom between two and three thousand were cavalry. On the following day they proceeded towards Sahagun, through roads covered with snow and ice. While on the march, Lord Paget learning that six or seven hundred French cavalry were in the town, pushed on rapidly at the head of the 10th and 16th hussars to attack them; but they were unfortunately informed of the approach of the British by a French dragoon who escaped into the town, and they had time to draw up in a vineyard to receive the assault. The superiority of the British men and horses was, however, never more apparent. After the exchange of a few pistol shots, the hussars charged the enemy with such fury, that they gave way, and fled precipitately, leaving in the possession of the victors one hundred and fifty-seven prisoners, amongst whom were two lieutenant-colonels and several other officers. The British, in this gallant affair, had only eight men killed, and twenty wounded.

At Sahagun Sir John Moore concerted a plan for attacking Soult, whose force, concentrated

behind the Carrion, was represented as not exceeding eighteen thousand men. The British collected between Sahagun, Grahal, and Villado, were to march on the Carrion, and from thence to Saldanha by night, while Romana proceeded to the same point by Mansilla. Never were orders more welcome to a British army, and the soldiers anticipated a glorious result. The whole force was assembled at the appointed time, and some of the columns had already begun their march, when information was received, that considerable reinforcements had arrived to Soult from Palencia; and a letter from Romana stated, that the French were advancing from Madrid, either on Valladolid or Salamanca. Napoleon was no sooner informed that the British army had not retreated upon Portugal, than he resolved to use every means in his power to accomplish its destruction. The march of his troops to the southern provinces was suspended, and Soult was ordered, if attacked, to give way, and decoy the British to Burgos, or as far eastward as possible. He was ordered, at the same time, to push on a corps towards Leon, on their left flank, and if they attempted to retreat, to impede it by every means in his power. While Soult was posted between the Carrion and Saldanha, Junot had advanced from Burgos to Palencia, and threatened the right of the British. The corps of Lefebvre, which had proceeded as far as Talavera de la Reyna in a southerly direction, was ordered to march backward on Salamanca.

of December Napoleon himself left Madrid at the head of thirty-two thousand infantry and eight thousand cavalry. In short, the greater part of the disposable force of the French in Spain, forming an irregular crescent, was now marching in radii to environ the British; and Bonaparte, by the measures of the British General, was thus compelled to abandon the plan he had formed for the immediate subjugation of the Peninsula.

Every Spanish army having been driven from the field, Sir John Moore justly considered, that to attempt to resist the overwhelming force which the enemy was now bringing against him, would be the extreme of folly and presumption. A retreat having therefore become unavoidable, the divisions of Generals Hope and Frazer fell back, on the 24th, to Mayorga, on the road to Benevente. Napoleon's advanced guard of cavalry, which had come from Madrid, passed through Tordesillas on the same day that the van of the British left Sahagun, and both moved towards the same point, which was Benevente. The retreat of the British began with the passage of the Eslar, Sir David Baird with the brigade of guards crossing that river by the ferry of Valentia de Don Juan, where he took post to cover the magazines at Benevente and Zamora. The Marquis of Romana was left in possession of the bridge of Mansilla, and the road to Leon, and on Christmas day, the Commander-in-Chief crossed with the reserve and light brigade at Castro Gonsalo. These movements were pro-

tected by the cavalry under Lord Paget, who defeated several detachments of French dragoons, which had been pushed on from Tordesillas.

Sir John Moore had, at this time, so little idea of the numbers that the enemy were bringing against him, that he determined to carry off the prisoners, who were accordingly stowed in covered waggons. The movements of the troops were greatly retarded, and their sufferings increased by the state of the roads: a thaw had come on, followed by incessant rains, which rendered them a foot deep in clay, the soil of that part of the country being a heavy loam; the soldiers, attributing all the hardships they endured to the supineness of the Spaniards, indignant at being compelled to turn their backs upon an enemy whom they would eagerly have met in the field, and exasperated at the conduct of the Spanish carters, who frequently abandoned the waggons with the sick and wounded, took many opportunities of avenging themselves on the only objects within their reach, and considerable havoc was committed by them at Valderas. They considered the unwillingness of the Spaniards to supply their wants, as a proof of the basest ingratitude towards the British nation, after having made such sacrifices in their behalf: while, on the other hand, the Spanish peasantry, destitute of every thing beyond mere necessaries, felt the greatest repugnance at sharing their pittance with men, whom they dreaded as

guests, and whom they now considered to be abandoning them to the fury of the enemy.

This reprehensible conduct of the troops called forth the severest censures from the Commander-in-Chief. At Benevente he issued general orders, in which he condemned in the strongest terms, the marauding and drunkenness of the soldiers, and the free criticisms in which many of the officers had indulged on his plan of operations. He assured them that the army had made no movement since he left Salamanca, which he did not foresee and prepare for; and as far as he could judge, his measures had answered the purpose for which they were intended. When it was proper to fight a battle, he would do it, and he begged the officers and soldiers to attend diligently to the discharge of their respective duties, and to leave to him and the general officers the decision of measures which belonged to them alone, assuring them that there was nothing he had more at heart, than their honour and that of their country.

Notwithstanding these severe animadversions on the conduct of the troops, the havoc which had been committed at Valderas was renewed at Benevente, and the splendid castle of the Duke d'Ossuna, one of the finest monuments of the age of chivalry, suffered irreparably from the indignant rage of an infuriated soldiery. To gothic grandeur was united in this edifice all the wildness of Moorish decoration.—Saracenic arches, supported by pillars of porphyry and granite, were

seen in open galleries; fountains played in the courts of the cloisters; jasper-columns, and tessellated floors, niches and alcoves, were over-arched in various forms, and enriched with ornaments of the most gorgeous colours as well as those of gold and silver; while a hand in armour projecting from the wall held a splendid lamp to light the stair-case. This magnificent structure was sufficiently capacious to contain two regiments besides artillery within its walls. These proved the most destructive guests that had ever entered them: they perpetrated the most wanton acts of mischief, in spite of the strenuous exertions of their officers to save from devastation the venerable pile. Fires were lighted against the walls in which every thing combustible was consumed, and pictures of unknown value, the works of the greatest Spanish masters, were heaped together as fuel. Nothing can fully extenuate such acts of gothic barbarity, though some palliation may be found in the extreme sufferings and wants of the troops, who were stung to madness by the conduct of those magistrates, who, instead of making provision for their necessities, frequently abandoned the town on the approach of the British. Difference of religion, manners and language, tended no doubt, greatly to exasperate the angry feelings which at this time subsisted between the two nations.

While the troops remained at Benevente, an opportunity was afforded them of displaying a spirit more worthy of Britons. The alarm being

given that the enemy was on the opposite heights, every man repaired to his appointed place of rendezvous, and the cavalry poured out of the gates. The plains were filled with fugitives of both sexes, bewailing their hard fate: but the French, perceiving with what alacrity the British rushed to the encounter, speedily retired. Orders were then given to destroy the bridge, which was effected about day-break, and the troops continued their retreat. Information was, however, received soon after, that the enemy were attempting to pass the Eslar, at a ford below the bridge. Lord Paget being still in the town, immediately despatched the picquets of the 18th hussars and 3d German dragoons, under Lieutenant-Colonel Otway and Major Bagwell, and speedily followed them with General Stewart. He found that four squadrons of the French Imperial Guards, amounting to five or six hundred men, had crossed the river, and were skirmishing with the picquets, who did not amount to half the number of the enemy. The 10th hussars were sent for, and on their arrival General Stewart put himself at the head of the picquets, and made a charge, which compelled the French to repass the ford more precipitately than they had crossed it. They attempted to form on the opposite side, but three pieces of horse artillery stationed near the bridge did considerable execution amongst them. General Lefebvre, the commander of the French Imperial Guard of Cavalry, with one hundred men, were taken

upon this occasion, and their loss in killed and wounded was considerable. That of the British amounted to fifty, Major Bagwell being among the wounded.

The result of this brilliant affair considerably damped the ardour of the French, who from this period continued the pursuit at a respectful distance. From Benevente Sir John Moore despatched three thousand chosen troops, under General Crawford, on the road to Orense, fearing that the enemy might detach a light corps by that route, which would have headed the British columns, and obstructed their retreat. General Crawford proceeded with little difficulty to Vigo, while the other columns marched through deep snow, across the dreary plains of Leon, to Astorga, which Soult had hoped to reach before the British; but his intention was completely frustrated by the celerity and skill of Sir John Moore. At Astorga they found Romana's army, consisting of about eight thousand men, half starved and half naked, and a great part of them labouring under typhus fever.

Sir David Baird's division from Valentia joined the Commander-in-Chief at this place, where it was generally supposed he intended to make a stand against the enemy, as the country in its neighbourhood is considered extremely defensible. Westward of Astorga two great ranges of mountains extend from north to south, inclosing a tract of country called the Bierzo. The waters of this

amphitheatre have but one opening; they are collected in the river Sil, and pass through a narrow gorge into the Val de Oras in Galicia. The centre forms a lovely plain of about four square leagues; there is no other pass than the main road which traverses it; and this leads along such defiles, that it is said, a thousand men might stop the march of twenty times their number. It is, however, extremely questionable, whether at such a period of the year, and destitute of provisions, it would have been prudent in the British commander to risk the safety of his army, in defence of a cause which now appeared so hopeless. It was evident, from all his proceedings, that he saw no chance of security for them till they reached the coast, where he hoped to find transports ready to receive them, or where he could take up a defensible position until they arrived.

A number of ammunition waggons were burnt at Astorga, all the superfluous camp-equipage, sumpter-mules, horses, &c. were abandoned, and several divisions of the army sent forward, with orders to make forced marches to Vigo, by Orense. Sir John Moore, with the remainder, followed on the 30th of December, proceeding by Villa Franca and Lugo. This march presented scenes of indescribable misery. The road lay for the most part through bleak mountains covered with snow, and so great was the want of provisions, that the soldiers were sometimes two days without

tasting food. Half famished, nearly frozen, and altogether desperate, they forced their way into the houses where their rations should have been served, seized the provisions by force, and frequently destroyed more than they carried away. The extremes of vice and misery seemed now to be united. In some of the villages, the unburied dead bodies of the inhabitants lay stretched before their own houses, from which they had been driven by the famished soldier, urged by his own necessities, to perish with cold and hunger. On the other hand, numerous stragglers from the different corps, after having plundered the magazines, commissariat-stores, and cellars, lay intoxicated by the way side, mingled with the sick and weary, and many of them were trampled under feet, or mangled by the sabres of the enemy's cavalry. Some of these were led through their respective corps as examples of the dreadful consequences of drunkenness and disobedience; other means still more severe were also resorted to for the purpose of checking those excesses; but such a complete spirit of insubordination now prevailed throughout the army, that the authority of the officers seemed nearly at an end.

Bonaparte continued the pursuit in person no farther than Astorga, where he reviewed his army, amounting to seventy thousand men. He probably recollected, at that moment, the resistance he once met from a handful of Britons under the walls of Acre, and he was unwilling to run the

risk of having the lustre of his arms again tarnished by these gallant opponents. He therefore charged Marshal Soult with the *glorious mission of destroying the English army, or driving them into the sea*: but the Marshal kept up the pursuit with the greatest prudence, never coming close enough to make his antagonists stand at bay. Mean time the British army continued its retreat, amidst sufferings which it is almost impossible to depict. From Astorga to Villa Franca is almost sixty English miles, the first sixteen of which is up the mountain, to the summit of Foncebadon, but through an open country. Many of the horses beginning to fail, were shot, lest the enemy should profit by them; the rain poured down in torrents; the baggage had to be dragged along, and the men waded through half melted snows. At the top of this mountain is a pass, said to be one of the strongest in Europe, eight or nine miles in length. Through this pass the army moved in total silence, unless when it was interrupted by the groans of those, who, unable to proceed farther, laid themselves down in despair to perish in the snow, or by an occasional pistol shot, terminating the miseries of an unfortunate horse, that had sunk under its burden. The loss of these animals greatly increased the sufferings of the men, who were frequently obliged to draw the baggage. On this march the military chest was sacrificed, barrels of dollars, now considered of little value, were precipitated over the rocks into ravines and rivers;

and scarcely any provisions were to be procured on this dreadful route, as almost every village was found destitute of inhabitants.

When the army reached Villa Franca, on the 2d of January, many of the men, rendered desperate by cold, hunger, and weariness, got into the wine-cellars, and drank to such excess, that they were found dead when the French entered the town. Numbers of stragglers fell into the hands of the enemy, who were so close at the heels of the British, that Sir John Moore did not think it prudent to halt at Villa Franca. Harassed and worn out as they were, the troops re-commenced their melancholy progress, the rear being covered by General Baird's column and the cavalry under Lord Paget. On the 3rd of January, the French under General Merle attacked the rear-guard near Carcabalos, but they were repulsed by the English dragoons, and 95th regiment. In this affair the French General Colbert was killed.

After giving the enemy this fresh specimen of British courage, even in the most disastrous circumstances, the troops continued their march to Castro, which is one continued ascent up Monte del Cebrero. The scenery of this country is said to be so delightfully romantic, as to have attracted even the admiration of those who were enduring the horrors of this retreat. The road overhangs the river Valcarco, a rapid mountain stream, which falls into the Burbia, near the town of Castro. In the bottom and far up the hills are

to be found oaks, alders, poplars, and chesnuts, while the mountains are cultivated to their very summits. Some vineyards are to be met here, and fruits of various kinds grow wild in this part of the country. It was now, however, covered with snow, and neither food, fuel, or shelter was to be found, to allay the miseries of this ill-fated army, which seemed to have arrived at their climax. They were compelled to abandon the sick and wounded in their waggons to perish in the snow, the greater part of the beasts which had drawn them having been destroyed. From the point of these slippery precipices, the rear of the army was seen winding along the narrow road, while the snow at each side was reddened in spots, by the wretched people expiring from fatigue, and the severity of the cold. Amongst these unfortunate sufferers were to be seen many women and children frozen to death, while in some instances, the infant, yet alive, sought, in vain, to draw sustenance from the breast of its departed mother.\* These horrors, and the idea that they were disgraced by flying from an enemy, who dared not fight them, excited in the men a spirit almost

\* The following affecting incident is related by an eye witness.—  
“After we had gained the summit of Monte del Castro, and were descending, I observed a crowd of soldiers. My curiosity prompted me to go to it; I knew it must be no common occurrence that would attract their sympathy. In the centre lay a woman, young and lovely, though cold in death, and a child, about six or

mutinous. All they desired was an opportunity of facing the French, which would give them the chance of an honourable and speedy death, and the certainty of sweetening their sufferings by taking vengeance upon their pursuers.

Twelve leagues still remained to be traversed from the top of the mountain to Lugo, where the different corps had been ordered to halt and collect. The division of General Frazer, and the brigades of Generals Crawford and Allen, which had taken the road to Vigo, were recalled, it being ascertained that that place was double the distance of Corunna. Many bridges lay on the way to Lugo, the destruction of which would have greatly impeded the pursuit of the enemy, but the attempts made for this purpose proved unsuccessful, from causes which have not been ascertained. Many horses fell dead in the streets, as the army entered Lugo, and above four hundred carcasses lay for several days in the market place, poisoning the atmosphere.

The repose which the weary sufferers had expected at this place, was quickly disturbed by the appearance of the French, who took up a

seven months old, attempting to draw support from the breast of its dead mother. Tears filled every eye, but no one had the power to aid. At length one of General Moore's staff-officers came up, and desired the infant to be given to him. He rolled it in his cloak, amidst the blessings of every spectator. Never shall I efface the benevolence of his look from my heart, when he said, "Unfortunate infant, you shall be my future care."

position on the 5th of January, opposite the British rear-guard, a small valley only separating them from it. Both parties remained under arms the whole of the night, while the sky exhibited a continued expanse of stars, bespeaking the intense-ness of the cold. On the 6th, the enemy made a vigorous attack on the out-posts, but the sound of battle suddenly revived the hearts of the British: "revenge or death," was the general cry, and the French were repulsed in every assault. Another attack on the 7th met with a similar result, and Sir John Moore being joined by General Frazer's division from the Vigo road, and placing the fullest confidence in the spirit of his men, now determined to give the enemy battle. This resolution instantly restored order and discipline throughout the ranks, and the soldiers seemed to have forgotten all their sufferings. Soult was, however, unwilling to risk an engagement until he should be joined by some reinforcements which were coming up, and amongst others by the divisions of Laborde and Loison, whom the Convention of Cintra had permitted to join in the pursuit of the English army. On the other hand, Sir John Moore conceived the enemy's position too strong to attack it with an inferior force, and having but two days provisions, delay was considered extremely dangerous.

The British continued under arms in front of the enemy, during the whole of the 8th, amidst snow, rain, and storms. At night, great fires

were lighted along the line, and the retreat was re-commenced, previous to which fresh orders were issued by the Commander-in-Chief, to restrain, if possible, the irregularities of the army. These remonstrances, however, still proved ineffectual, and their exhausted state, joined with their natural love of liquor, caused the men frequently to leave their ranks in order to gratify this fatal propensity. Death was generally the consequence, for, falling down intoxicated in the snow, they usually slept to wake no more.

The spirit manifested by the British at Lugo checked Soult in his pursuit, and enabled the former to gain twelve hours march upon him, so that they reached the peninsula of Betanzos on the 10th, where Sir John Moore had hoped to find a position, to cover the embarkation of the troops in Ares or Redes Bay; but from the report of an officer sent to reconnoitre, he was induced to prefer Corunna, where the army arrived on the following day. The first sight of the ocean filled every breast with joy, and the embarkation might have been effected without impédiment, had not the transports been delayed for two days by contrary winds, in coming round from Vigo. Under these circumstances, it appeared impossible that the army could escape without winning a battle. Their situation was therefore considered extremely critical, as Corunna was found to be by no means defensible with their small force. Had it been sufficiently strong, it might yet have occupied with

great advantage a chain of hills about four miles from the town; but under present circumstances both flanks were liable to be turned, and they were forced to relinquish them to the enemy, and content themselves with occupying a second and lower range. Should they be compelled to retire into Corunna, the harbour would be so commanded by the cannon on the coast, that no ship could lay in it. At this critical juncture it was recommended to Sir John Moore, to make proposals to the enemy, but, with that gallant spirit, which had distinguished his life, he rejected this advice, and declared he would accept no terms which were in the least dishonourable to the army, or the country.

Arrangements were now made for the approaching conflict. General Hope's division was stationed on a hill upon the left, commanding the road to Betanzos, and decreasing gradually in a curved direction towards the village of Elvina, where Sir David Baird's commenced, and bent to the right, the whole forming a semi-circle. The rifle corps formed a chain across a valley, and communicated with General Frazer's division, which was drawn up about half a mile from Corunna, near the road to Vigo. The reserve, under General Paget, occupied a village on the Betanzos road, about half a mile in the rear of General Hope.

These dispositions were made on the morning of the 13th, after which Sir John Moore returned to

his quarters, and wrote his last dispatch, which he sent to England by Brigadier-General Stewart.\* On this day, a magazine, containing four thousand barrels of gunpowder, was blown up by the British, lest it should fall into the hands of the enemy. The explosion shook the town like an earthquake; and a village near the magazine was totally destroyed. A cannonade which the French opened on the 14th was returned with effect, and on the same evening the transports from Vigo hove in sight. Preparations for embarking were instantly made, and, in the course of this and the following day, all the sick, with the greater part of the cavalry and artillery, were put on board the ships. The beach, at this period, presented a most distressing spectacle, being covered with dead horses, and resounding in every direction

*\*Formation of the British Army under Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore, at the Battle of Corunna, January 16th, 1809.*

1st DIVISION.			3d DIVISION.		
Lt.-Gen. Sir D. Baird.	1 Maj.-Gen. Lord W. Bentinck	4th Foot	Lt.-Gen. Frazer.	7 M. G. Beresford.	6th
		42d —			9th
	50th —	23d 2d B.			
	2 Maj.-Gen. Man- ningham.	1st Roy. 2d B.		8 B. Gen. Fane.	43d 2d B.
		26th —			38th
	3 M. Gen. Warde's.	81st — 2d B.		79th	
1st B. } 1st Foot		82d			
	3d B. } Guards.				
2d DIVISION.			RESERVE.		
Lieut.-Gen. Hope.	4th M. Gen. Leith.	51st	M. Gen. Paget.	9	20th
		59th 2d B.			52d
		76th			96th
	5 M. Gen. Hill.	2d		10 B. Gen. Dis- ney.	28th
		5th			91st
		14th 2d B.			
	6 Col. Crawford.	32d			
		36th			
		71st			
		92d			

with pistol shots, carrying destruction amongst them. Many of those noble animals, as if struck by the scene around them with a dread of their impending fate, broke loose, and galloped wildly along the beach, with their manes erect, and their mouths wide open, at the same time screaming in the most frightful manner. The 95th had a spirited skirmish with the enemy on this day; during which Colonel Mackenzie of the 5th, rushing gallantly forward with part of his regiment, to seize two pieces of cannon, was shot whilst in full course.

On the morning of the 16th, the French were seen strongly posted on the hills, but they appeared unusually quiet, not a gun being fired. Sir John Moore availed himself of this tranquillity to put every thing in order for the embarkation, which he intended to commence at four o'clock. These operations proceeded undisturbed until mid-day, when the Commander-in-Chief went to visit his out-posts, and on the road he received a report from General Hope that the French were getting under arms. He instantly spurred forwards, and found the picquets already engaged, while the enemy were pouring rapidly down the hill on the right wing of the British. General Frazer's brigade, which was in the rear, was now ordered to take post on the right, while General Paget, with the reserve, was directed to support Lord William Bentinck, as upon maintaining his posi-

tion, though a bad one, the fate of the day in a great measure depended.

The enemy now commenced a furious cannonade from eleven heavy guns well posted on the hill, while two strong columns advanced to attack the right wing, the one along the road, the other skirting its edges: a third marched on the centre, a fourth on the left wing, and a fifth remained half way down the hill, ready to take advantage of the first favourable circumstance that might occur. It was at this moment that Sir David Baird, while leading on his division, had his arm shattered by a grape shot.

The hostile armies now approached each other, under a shower of balls, through a country intersected by stone walls and hedges. Sir John Moore perceiving, as they closed, that the French line outflanked the British, and that the enemy were making dispositions to turn it, ordered half of the 4th regiment to fall back, forming an obtuse angle with the other half. This manœuvre was performed in the most excellent style by the regiment, which immediately commenced a heavy flanking fire. Sir John Moore now pushed on to the 50th, who quickly got over an enclosure in their front, charged the enemy with the greatest bravery, and drove them from the village of Elvina. Advancing too far in the ardour of pursuit, Major Stanhope was mortally wounded, and Major Napier, after receiving several wounds, was taken prisoner.

On approaching the 42d, the gallant Moore reminded them of their former exploits. "Highlanders," he exclaimed, "remember Egypt." The regiment, with alacrity, obeyed the summons, and rushed forward, accompanied by the Chief, driving the enemy before them until they were stopped by a wall. A battalion of Guards was now ordered up to the support of the Highlanders, who were for some time exposed to a dreadful cannonade from the enemy's artillery. The officer commanding the light infantry, conceiving that they were about to be relieved by the Guards, as their ammunition was nearly expended, began to fall back, but Sir John, observing the mistake, exclaimed, "My brave 42d, join your comrades; ammunition is coming, and you have your bayonets," upon which they instantly moved forward.

At this moment the fatal event occurred, which deprived the British army of one of its brightest ornaments. A cannon-ball struck Sir John Moore, and carried away his left shoulder, and part of the collar-bone, leaving the arm hanging by the flesh. He fell from his horse, without betraying the least sensation of pain, anxiously watching the 42d, and his countenance brightened when Capt. Hardinge told him they were advancing. The size of the wound rendering every attempt to stop the effusion of blood unavailing, Sir John consented to be removed to the rear in a blanket, and the melancholy task was performed by six soldiers of the 42d and the Guards. An effort being made to

unbuckle his sword, the heroic chief desired that it should go out of the field with him; soon after which Captain Hardinge, observing his composure, expressed a hope that he would still be spared to the army. "No, Hardinge," replied the General, looking steadfastly at the wound, "I find that to be impossible." He ordered the men frequently to turn round, that he might see the field of battle and listen to the firing, and as the sound grew fainter he seemed well pleased. Thus the soldiers proceeded slowly with him to his quarters at Corunna, weeping as they went.

Undismayed by the loss of their leaders, the troops on the right vigorously maintained the advantages they had gained. Foiled in every attempt to force the position, the enemy endeavoured to turn it, but their intention was defeated by Major-General Paget, who, with the reserve, had pushed forward to support the right wing. The 52d regiment and 95th (rifle corps) drove all before them, and the enemy, now finding their left quite exposed, were forced to relax their position in this quarter. They made, however, a vigorous attack on the centre, where they were successfully resisted by the brigades under Generals Manningham and Leith. During these proceedings on the right and centre of the British position, the enemy contented themselves with merely attacking the picquets on the left: their efforts, however, in this quarter, became more serious towards the close of the action. Having

obtained possession of a village in front of that part of the line, they kept up a heavy fire from it, until Colonel Nicholls, at the head of the 2d battalion of the 14th regiment, drove them out with considerable loss. Night was now closing in, and the enemy having fallen back in every direction, the British remained masters of the field.

The loss of the enemy, in the battle of Corunna, was computed to have exceeded two thousand men, while that of the British did not amount to eight hundred. The principal officers who suffered, besides the Commander-in-Chief and second in command, were Lieutenant-Colonels Napier of the 92d, Wynch of the 4th, Maxwell of the 26th, Fane of the 59th, Griffith of the Guards, and Stanhope of the 50th, who were killed, and Majors Napier of the 50th, and Miller and Williams of the 81st were wounded.

Never was a victory obtained under greater disadvantages. The number of sick, the losses on the retreat, and the absence of the detachment which marched for Vigo had reduced the effective force of the British in the field, to fifteen thousand men ; while the greater part of their artillery had been embarked. After a retreat in the depth of winter, attended with perils and sufferings scarcely to be paralleled, they had to encounter a superior enemy, flushed with victory, and hourly receiving reinforcements. In addition to their bodily sufferings, the loss of their stores, their wives and children, were powerfully calculated to depress the

spirits and sink the courage of the bravest. Yet did this feeble force, under such disheartening circumstances, defeat an army of more than twenty thousand French, in a well chosen position, with a far superior artillery, and commanded by one of the most distinguished Marshals of France.

The gallant Moore lived to hear that the battle was won. He repeatedly asked if the enemy were beaten, and when informed of their defeat, he replied, "I hope the people of England will be satisfied. I hope my country will do me justice." Then addressing Colonel Anderson, who had been his friend and companion in arms for one and twenty years, he said to him, "Anderson, you know I have always wished to die in this way. You will see my friends as soon as you can: tell them every thing. Say to my mother,—” But here his voice failed, and he became excessively agitated, and did not again venture to name her. He said soon after, "I feel myself so strong, I fear I shall be long dying. It is great uneasiness—it is great pain." In a few minutes he pressed Colonel Anderson's hand close to his body, and expired without a struggle. As the departed hero had often expressed a wish, if he should be killed in battle, to be buried where he fell, the body was removed at midnight to the citadel of Corunna. A party of the 9th regiment dug a grave, to which his mortal remains, wrapped up in a military cloak and blankets, were conveyed by the officers of his

family, the funeral-service being read by the chaplain.\*

\* Sir John Moore was a native of Scotland, and eldest son of Doctor John Moore, so well known to the literary world as the author of several highly interesting works. He embraced the profession of arms at a very early age, and, in the year 1793, at the commencement of the war with the French Republic, we find him Lieutenant-Colonel of the 51st regiment, in which capacity he served with distinguished skill and heroism, in the island of Corsica. In the year 1795, he accompanied Sir Ralph Abercrombie, as Brigadier-General, in his expedition against the French West India Islands, and, being promoted to the rank of Major-General in 1798, his talents were employed in assisting to quell the unhappy insurrection in Ireland. When the expedition against Holland in 1799 was resolved upon, Sir Ralph Abercrombie again selected General Moore as one of his favourite companions in arms; and he continued to serve under this distinguished Chief, until his lamented fall at the glorious battle of Alexandria. The eminent services of Sir John Moore have been so copiously detailed in the preceding volumes of this work, as to render eulogy wholly unnecessary. Suffice it to say, that the high estimation in which he was held by the most distinguished Generals and Statesmen of his day, mark him to have been an extraordinary man. He was early noticed by his Sovereign. Mr. Pitt consulted him on military affairs, and frequently yielded to his judgment. Mr. Fox, while Secretary of State, reposed such confidence in his talents, that when it was in agitation to appoint Sir John Moore Commander-in-Chief in India, he said, with his usual frankness, that in the existing state of Europe, he could not part with so distinguished a General. Similar compliments were paid to him even by his military opponents. Napoleon himself, unwilling as he was to concede any degree of praise to a British General, acknowledged him to be a skilful and clever man, and the French Generals, to whom Major Napier was for some time a

**The darkness of the night rendered the pursuit of the enemy impossible, which, if even practica-**

prisoner and guest, were loud in their commendations of Sir John Moore's masterly retreat, and the excellent position which he took in front of Corunna. They further evinced their admiration for the British army, and their respect for the memory of its lamented General, by sending all the wounded officers and soldiers to England on their parole, with the women and children, while Marshal Soult gave orders to Mr. Fourcroy, the French Consul, to erect a commemorating stone on the spot where Sir John Moore fell. The French, however, being forced to evacuate Corunna before this generous design could be put in execution, it was carried into effect by the Marquis de Romana.

This summary of the character of Sir John Moore cannot be concluded more appropriately than by the following extracts from the well merited eulogiums pronounced upon him by his successor, and his Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief. Sir John Hope closed his despatch to Sir David Baird, by saying, "to you, who are well acquainted with the excellent qualities of Sir John Moore, I need not expatiate on the loss the army and his country have sustained by his death. His fall has deprived me of a valuable friend, to whom long experience of his worth had sincerely attached me. But it is chiefly on public grounds that I must lament the blow. It will be the consolation of every one who loved or respected his manly character, that after conducting the army through an arduous retreat with consummate firmness, he has terminated a career of distinguished honor by a death that has given the enemy additional reason to respect the name of a British soldier. Like the immortal Wolfe, he is snatched from his country at an early period of a life spent in her service; like Wolfe, his last moments were gilded by the prospect of success, and cheered by the acclamations of victory; like Wolfe also, his memory will for ever remain sacred in that country which he sincerely loved, and which he had so faithfully served."

ble, would be attended with extreme hazard, as considerable reinforcements were on the point of joining the French. Sir John Hope, therefore, wisely determined to embark the army, while the consternation continued, into which the enemy were thrown by their recent defeat. At ten o'clock at night the troops moved from the field by brigades, and proceeded to Corunna, picquets

Soon after the return of the troops to the shores of Britain, his Royal Highness the Duke of York issued an address to the whole army, in which he enumerated the various services of the departed hero. They were, at the conclusion, summed up in the following simple, but energetic words: "In a military character, obtained amidst the dangers of climate, the privations incident to service, and the sufferings of repeated wounds, it is difficult to select any one point as a preferable subject for praise: it exhibits, however, one feature so particularly characteristic of the man, and so important to the best interests of the service, that the Commander-in-Chief is pleased to mark it with his peculiar approbation. The life of Sir John Moore was spent among the troops. During the season of repose, his time was devoted to the care and instruction of the officer and soldier; in war he courted service in every quarter of the globe. Regardless of personal considerations, he esteemed that to which his country called him the post of honour; and, by his undaunted spirit and unconquerable perseverance, he pointed the way to victory. His country, the object of his latest solicitude will rear a monument to his honoured memory; and the Commander-in-Chief feels he is paying the best tribute to his fame, by thus holding him forth as an example to the army."

In consequence of an address to his Majesty by the House of Commons, a monument has been erected to the memory of Sir John Moore, in St. Paul's Cathedral, with a suitable inscription from the classical pen of Dr. Parr.

being left on the ground, to give notice of any movement of the enemy. Major-General Beresford, with a rear-guard of two thousand men, occupied the lines in front of the town, to cover the embarkation, while Major-General Hill, with a *corps-de-reserve*, was posted on a promontory in the rear. Before day-light the picquets were withdrawn, and nearly the whole army were embarked, with the exception of the corps under Beresford and Hill. The enemy perceiving this in the morning, pushed on some light troops to the heights of St. Lucia, and fired on the transports, four of which ran aground, but the troops were removed to other ships, and the stranded vessels burnt. General Hill's brigade embarked at two o'clock under the citadel, and during the following night General Beresford, having previously sent off all the sick and wounded that could be removed, put his rear-guard on board the boats, without the slightest interruption on the part of the enemy.

This termination of the first campaign of the British in Spain gave rise to much animadversion in England. The imprudence, if not treachery, of the Spanish government, in holding out false colours to their best friends, was a just subject of universal reprobation; while the conduct of the British ministry, in suffering themselves to be thus imposed upon, met with the severest censure. The calumnies which, during the retreat to Corunna, had loudly assailed the conduct of Sir John Moore

and his gallant troops, were in a great measure silenced after his triumphant death by the voice of his sovereign and his country. Every man of candour was forced to acknowledge, that none but a superior genius could have conducted his army for more than four hundred miles, through such a host of difficulties; and, at the close of his painful march, have turned with far inferior numbers upon his pursuers, and, by a glorious victory, facilitated the embarkation of his troops in the presence of the enemy. The country had, indeed, to lament the loss of five or six thousand brave men, but through the skilful conduct of their leader, more than twenty thousand were preserved to revisit their native shores, covered too with the laurels of victory. In conclusion, though the results of the campaign were not adequate to the hopes entertained from it by the friends of the Spanish cause, yet the operations of Sir John Moore actually saved the Peninsula from complete subjugation at this time, by drawing Bonaparte from south to north, ruining his equipments, diminishing the numbers of his army, and so harassing his troops as to prevent the possibility of their making any successful efforts for several months.

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During the progress of the Spanish war, Napoleon accomplished his design on the kingdom of Naples, by the reduction of the remaining posts in Calabria. General Regnier had for some time

besieged Reggio and Scylla, the former of which, defended by a Neapolitan garrison, surrendered on the 3d of February. This event enabled the French general to turn his whole force amounting to six thousand men, and a formidable artillery, against Scylla, which was garrisoned by two hundred British troops consisting of detachments from the 21st, 27th, 35th, and 62d regiments under Lieutenant-Colonel Robertson, and between four and five hundred armed Calabrians. Notwithstanding the smallness of the garrison, the place was bravely defended for seven weeks. In the beginning of February, however, the enemy succeeded in bringing up his heavy ordnance: they also captured four Sicilian gun-boats, in an endeavour to recover which the *Delight* sloop of war got on shore, and her commander, with several of her crew were killed. Fourteen pieces of cannon were now brought to bear upon the works, and the enemy began to make their approaches in form. They were opposed with the greatest spirit, but the guns of the castle being buried under the parapet, and a breach in the left bastion on the point of being made, the garrison to the last man was withdrawn, on the 16th, leaving the fort a heap of ruins. This conquest cost the French several hundred men, while the garrison had but eleven men killed and thirty-one wounded.

In the month of March the French islands of Marie Galante and Descada, surrendered to a Bri-

tish squadron under Captain Selby with little resistance.

Before we close the record of the year 1808, it is necessary to notice a few naval actions that took place. The first of these occurred near Point de Galle in the island of Ceylon, on the 4th of March, between his Majesty's frigate *St. Fiorenzo*, Captain Hardinge, and the French frigate *La Piedmontaise* of fifty guns, which struck to the British flag after a severe action, in which the gallant Captain Hardinge fell. The enemy had one hundred and sixty killed or wounded; the British thirty-eight. In the Baltic, on the 22d of the same month, the Danish ship *Prince Christian Frederick*, of seventy-four guns, was captured and destroyed by his Majesty's ships *Statelý* and *Nassau*, commanded by Captains Parker and Campbell. The enemy had one hundred and forty-three men killed or wounded. On the 5th of June Captain Stewart, in the *Seahorse*, fell in with two Turkish men-of-war, viz. the *Badere Zaffar* of fifty-two guns and five hundred men, and the *Ahs Fezan* of twenty-four guns and two hundred and thirty men, with a galley, off the island of Scopolo. The small ship being disabled after a hot fire of fifteen minutes, Captain Stewart attacked the large frigate, which made a most determined resistance, and did not submit till one hundred and sixty-five of her crew were killed, and one hundred and ninety-five wounded. An engagement equally desperate took place on the 10th of November, to the north-west point of

Groa, between the Amethyst frigate commanded by Sir Michael Seymour, and La Thetis of forty-four guns, and three hundred and thirty men, besides one hundred and six soldiers from L'Orient for Martinique. The French ship was carried by boarding, which was attended with dreadful slaughter, her captain and one hundred and thirty-five men being killed, and one hundred and two wounded.

## CHAPTER XX.

Meeting of the British Parliament.—His Majesty's Speech.—Result of the Debates on the Conduct of the War in Spain and Portugal.—Vote of Thanks to Sir Arthur Wellesley, and to the Army under the late Sir John Moore.—Discussion of the Charges preferred against his Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief, by Colonel Wardle, and Acquittal of his Royal Highness.—The Duke of York resigns the Command of the Army.—Distractions in the Turkish Empire.—An Attempt to restore the Emperor Selim to his throne terminates in his death.—Vigorous Conduct of Mustapha Bairacter, the new Vizier.—Dreadful Insurrection of the Janissaries.—Renewal of Hostilities between Russia and Turkey.—Revolution in Sweden.—Deposition of Gustavus IV.—The Duke of Sudermania is proclaimed King under the Title of Charles XIII.—New Swedish Constitution.—Conclusion of Peace between Sweden, Russia, and France.—New War between Austria and France.—Letter of the Emperor Napoleon to Francis.—Efficient State of the Austrian Army.—Address of the Archduke Charles to the Troops.—Disposition of the French and Austrian Forces.—The Archduke Charles overruns Bavaria.—Battle of Tan.—Napoleon defeats the Austrians at Eckmühl and Ebensberg; and, after a rapid march, obtains possession of Vienna a second time.—The Archduke Charles arrives with his Army in the vicinity of the Austrian Capital.—Great Battle of Aspern, and Defeat of the French.—A patriotic Spirit displays itself in the North of Germany.—Heroic but unsuccessful Efforts of Colonel Von Schill, and the Duke of Brunswick-Oels.—Indecisive Conduct of the Austrians after the Victory of Aspern.—Decisive Battle of Wagram, and total Defeat of the Archduke Charles.—An

Armistice is concluded between the hostile Armies.—The Duke of Brunswick is compelled to retire to England.—Gallant efforts of the Tyrolese to throw off the Yoke of Bavaria.—Fresh Disputes between the French Emperor and the Pope.—Rome is declared a Free, Imperial City, and the Papal Territories are united to the French Empire.—The Pope excommunicates Napoleon, and all who had co-operated with him in this aggression.—Singular Address of Napoleon to the Austrian Bishops.—Definitive Treaty between France and Austria.—Final subjugation of the Tyrolese, and execution of Hofer, their gallant Leader

**T**HE British Parliament was assembled on the 19th of January 1809. In the opening speech his Majesty took some notice of the late negotiation at Erfurth, and expressed his determination to continue to the Spanish people his most strenuous assistance and support as long as they remained true to themselves.\* Whilst he felt the liveliest satisfaction on contemplating the achievements of his forces at the opening of the campaign in Portugal, he declared his disapprobation of some of the articles in the armistice and convention, by which that campaign had been terminated. He recommended a continuance of the aid which had been afforded to the King of Sweden; and congratulated his parliament on the progressive improvement of the public revenue, notwithstanding the measures

\* The result of Sir John Moore's campaign was not at this time known in England.

which had been adopted by the enemy for destroying the commerce and resources of the kingdom. In concluding, he relied on them for their support in the prosecution of a war, which there was no hope of terminating, safely and honorably, except through vigorous and persevering exertion.

The early part of the Session was chiefly occupied, in both Houses, by debates on the conduct of the war in Portugal and Spain, and the late negotiation at Erfurth. The members generally agreed as to the necessity of supporting the Spanish cause, though the Opposition loudly condemned the mode by which British assistance had been hitherto applied. A few also attempted to palliate the conduct of Napoleon with respect to Spain, not indeed in the way of justification, but by comparing it with the conduct of Great Britain herself towards other nations. All the measures of the Ministry on this subject were, however, carried by large majorities.

A vote of thanks to Sir Arthur Wellesley, for his distinguished services, passed both Houses without a division; but the question relative to the Convention of Cintra was debated with much warmth. Lord Henry Petty, who moved the resolutions on this subject, asserted that the causes and circumstances which led to it had, in a great measure, arisen from the misconduct of Ministers. He condemned the mode in which the expedition had been equipped, the instructions given to the officers, the point to which it was destined, and the

extraordinary changes of its commanders. Lord Castlereagh replied to the various charges brought against the Ministry, and defended the Convention, with the exception of some articles, of which he had had the painful duty to signify to Sir Hew Dalrymple the disapprobation of the government. Sir Arthur Wellesley narrated, in a fair and manly speech, the events of the campaign, and declared it as his opinion, that if the enemy had been vigorously followed up after their defeat at Vimiera, there would have been no reason for concluding the Convention which had given so much offence. But he argued that the situation of the French, at the time when the armistice was concluded, justified the Convention; on this point, therefore, he considered that government was wrongfully accused, even if the Convention were as disgraceful as it was said to be. Lord Henry Petty's motion was ultimately lost by a majority of two hundred and three against one hundred and fifty-three.

On the 25th of January a vote of thanks was passed to the army, which had achieved the victory of Corunna, under the command of the late Sir John Moore; and it was ordered that a public monument should be erected, in St. Paul's Cathedral, to the memory of that distinguished officer.\* Considerable discussion followed relative

\* The feelings of the nation were at this time greatly excited by the return of the survivors of this ill-fated but gallant band.

to the conduct of the campaign in Spain, and the correspondence between Sir John Moore and Mr. Frere, the object of which was to fix on the Ministry the disgrace of its failure. But every motion for inquiry was rejected in both Houses by large majorities.\*

About nine hundred women were landed at Plymouth, wholly ignorant whether their husbands were living or dead, while the latter were equally anxious in search of their wives and children. Some had wounds that had never been dressed, and others died on board the transports, or on their way to the hospitals. The inhabitants of Plymouth, upon this occasion, nobly sustained the character of British benevolence, and while the ladies attended the sick and wounded, a committee of gentlemen sat night and day, to devise the means of providing food and clothing for all who were destitute of them. A charitable fund was formed, from which fourteen hundred women and children received immediate relief.

\* In the course of these discussions some extraordinary instances were brought forward, both of the sufferings and discipline of the British army during the retreat to Corunna. From these we shall select two. When the 1st Regiment (or Royals) reached Betanzos, they only mustered, with the colours, nine officers, three serjeants, and three privates; the rest had dropt on the road, and some of those who survived did not join for three days. The French cavalry closely pressed a party of worn-out soldiers, between Lugo and Betanzos. Serjeant Newman of the 43d, who was among them, made an effort to pass three or four hundred of these poor men: then rallying around him such as were able to make any resistance, he formed them into divisions, and kept firing and retiring in such an orderly manner, that he effectually covered the retreat of his disabled comrades, and compelled the cavalry to give up the pursuit.

During a great part of this Session, the House of Commons was occupied with investigating the conduct of his Royal Highness the Duke of York, who had for many years filled, with general satisfaction, the high office of Commander-in-Chief of the British Army. On the 27th of January, Col. Wardle, a member of the House, preferred a series of charges against his Royal Highness, implicating his conduct in granting commissions, appointments, &c. without any regard to merit, at the instance of Mrs. Clarke, a lady with whom his Royal Highness had been for some time in habits of intimacy. This lady, in the course of her examination, stated that she had frequently exerted her influence over the Duke, had received various sums to secure her interest with him, and that in some instances, he was not ignorant of these corrupt proceedings. Colonel Wardle produced many other witnesses to substantiate his charges; but in the course of the discussion, the Speaker received a letter from the Duke of York, in which his Royal Highness asserted, upon the honour of a Prince, his innocence of any corrupt participation in the infamous transactions given in evidence before the House; and he claimed of their justice, that he should not be condemned without trial, or be deprived of the benefit and protection afforded to every British subject by those sanctions, under which alone evidence is received in the ordinary administration of the law.

After the investigation had closed, Col. Wardle proposed an address to the King, assuming that the charges had been substantiated, and stating it as the opinion of the House, that his Royal Highness the Duke of York ought to be deprived of the command of the army. This motion was however rejected, and the House acquitted the Duke of York of either corruption or connivance in the transactions of Mrs. Clarke by a majority of eighty-two. His Royal Highness, in the mean time, had resigned the command of the army, and was succeeded by Sir David Dundas.

During the Session, the Opposition brought forward various motions on the subject of Parliamentary Reform, and retrenchments, and for the purpose of instituting inquiry into alleged abuses, which met their usual fate. The supplies voted by Parliament amounted to £47,588,024, exclusive of the proportion for Ireland.

Meanwhile new wars and new revolutions had arisen on the Continent, and Europe was agitated from the Baltic to the Euxine, and from the Scheldt to the Danube. From the deposition of Selim III. the Turkish Empire continued in a state of the greatest distraction. Her capital was blockaded, and her ships taken in sight of their own harbours. Servia and Bosnia were in a state of insurrection, while the Russians were masters of the valuable provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia. Since the Emperor Alexander had become the ally of Napoleon, he was persuaded

by the latter to come to an accomodation with the Porte, and an armistice was concluded, by which he agreed to evacuate Wallachia and Moldavia, and restore the captured vessels. The Russians, however, used little alacrity to fulfil the terms of the treaty, except as it respected the restoration of the ships.

Deaf to the invitations of the Greeks, who were at this time in open revolt and anxious to be taken under her protection, Great Britain seemed only desirous to renew her amicable relations with Turkey, and for this end Sir Arthur Paget, and after him Mr. Adair, were sent to Coustantinoplé. The party opposed to the reforms of Sultan Selim, which had been attributed to French influence, were well disposed to renew the alliance with England; but, before this could be effected, another revolution took place in this unfortunate city, of which it is necessary to enter into some detail.

The reign of Mustapha IV. had now continued fifteen months, and the Turks supposed themselves at peace with all the world except England, though one-fourth of their European dominions was in open revolt, the Russians still occupied Wallachia and Moldavia, and the Tabrates, (a body of insurgents thus denominated,) besieged one of the castles of the Dardanelles. The Holy Standard, which, except in time of war, is preserved with other relics of the prophet in a shrine within the Seraglio, was brought back to Constan-

tinople with great ceremony; and, on this occasion, Mustapha Bairacter, the Pacha of Rudshuck, was introduced by the Grand Vizier to the Sultan. To this man, who possessed the most daring intrepidity, was entrusted the task of reducing the Tabrates to obedience, after accomplishing which he formed the resolution of restoring Selim to the throne. Having destroyed the chief actors in the late revolution, he informed Mustapha that he must restore the throne to its former possessor; but on entering the seraglio, he found Selim dead, and lying in his blood, an act which was attributed to the Sultana Mother. Mustapha was now conducted to prison, and his brother Mohammed proclaimed Sultan. He was then but fifteen years old, and the only remaining branch of the Ottoman house.

Bairacter being appointed Vizier, immediately proceeded to new model the army, after the European system, and by the formation of a body of troops called Seymens, he sought to diminish the power of the Janissaries. It did not yet appear what part he meant to take between the contending states of Europe, but he received the offer of accommodation from England in such a way, that the rigours of the blockade were considerably lessened. However, the still formidable power of the Janissaries quickly terminated his authority. In October, 1808, two distinguished individuals amongst them excited the suspicions of the Vizier, and were put to death by his orders

An insurrection of the Janissaries ensued on the 14th of November, which ended in the destruction of eight thousand persons, including the deposed Sultan Mustapha, and the conflagration of the Hippodrome, the finest part of the Seraglio, the archives of the empire, and one third of the capital. The victorious Janissaries then proceeded to wreak their vengeance on Bairacter, by whose orders Mustapha was strangled, but he was not to be found; however, as he has not since been heard of, it is supposed that he perished by his own hand.

During these horrors, one of the wives of Mustapha was delivered of a son, the only representative of the Ottoman House except the reigning Sultan. The latter had taken refuge on board a ship, and by a deputation, acceded to all the demands of the insurgents. The Foreign Ambassadors were scrupulously respected during these commotions; after they had ceased, the negotiations were resumed as if nothing had occurred; and on the 5th of January, a treaty was signed, re-establishing amity between Turkey and England.

This event proved the signal for fresh hostilities on the part of Russia. Napoleon, incensed by the success of the British negotiator, urged the Emperor Alexander to a renewal of the war, and an express was despatched to Constantinople, to declare that unless the British Envoy were dismissed in twenty-four hours, the Congress

at Jassy should be dissolved, and hostilities commenced; and on the very day of the return of the messenger with a refusal, they put their threats into execution. The Turks made the most vigorous preparations for resistance; the holy standard was again brought out, and a large army collected. A number of sanguinary conflicts ensued with various success, but the Russians on the 14th of September obtained possession of Ismael. Their efforts against Silistria were not so successful, and after sustaining two severe defeats from the Grand Vizier in October, they were forced to recross the Danube. Their allies, the Servians, were equally unfortunate, and the campaign was terminated by an armistice.

The North of Europe also became this year the theatre of revolution. Sweden was severely afflicted by the loss of Finland, which had been the granary of her northern provinces. Dearth and pestilence were the fatal consequences, and these sufferings were generally ascribed by the people to her alliance with England. This opinion, united with the attachment which prevailed among the higher orders to the language and manners of France, paved the way for the deposition and expatriation of the reigning monarch.

The private life of Gustavus had been without reproach; a high sense of honour marked all his public conduct; his efforts for the improvement of his people were indefatigable; but an impetuosity of temper, proceeding, it is said, from an hereditary

disease, rendered many of his actions liable to the suspicion of insanity. Considerable discontent had been manifested amongst the nobles at the close of the preceding year, and a conspiracy was formed against the King. Colonel Adelsparre, one of the chief conspirators, having a command on the frontiers of Norway, took this opportunity to excite a mutiny amongst the troops, who were ill-paid, and almost destitute of food and clothing. Putting himself at their head, he commenced his march for Stockholm on the 6th of March. The objects of this proceeding were declared to be, to demand the payment of their arrears, and the assembling of the Diet to deliberate on the means of restoring the prosperity of Sweden. The people of Gottenburg raised twenty thousand rix-dollars to pay off the arrears of the troops, but it quickly appeared that the conspirators had other objects in view, besides those which they avowed, and Gustavus soon found himself surrounded by traitors. He ordered Baron Aderstrom to supersede Adelsparre in the command of the western army, and prepared to march himself against the insurgents; but while descending the staircase of his palace, on the morning of the 13th, he was suddenly arrested by General Aldercreutz and a party of conspirators. He drew his sword, and wounded one of them, but being overpowered by numbers, his person was secured, and he was conveyed as a prisoner to Drotningholm, one of his

own palaces, situated at a short distance from the Swedish capital.

A proclamation was immediately issued by the Duke of Sudermania, declaring the King's incapacity to reign, and that he had, as the nearest branch of the family of mature age, been induced to take into his hands the reins of government. It does not appear that the Duke had taken any part in the conspiracy against Gustavus, but that his age and infirmities rather rendered him anxious to decline the proffered dignity. He was, however, induced by the persuasions of the associated nobles, to accept the office of Regent, and a General Diét was summoned to meet on the 1st of May. These important events did not occasion the slightest commotion in Stockholm.

The Regent published a Manifesto on the following day, assigning the reasons of the change which had just taken place in the government. These were altogether founded on the King's obstinacy in pursuing the war against France and her allies, and the imprudent and ruinous manner in which he carried it on, though he was not prevented by his ally, the King of England, from accepting terms of peace. It stated, that the loss of Finland and other calamitous consequences resulted from the infatuated conduct of the King, and it was asserted that nothing but securing his person could prevent him from carrying his purpose into effect. An armistice was soon after concluded with Russia and Denmark, and General

Duroc arrived in the Swedish capital to negotiate for France.

In the mean time, the unfortunate Gustavus had been removed to the palace of Gripsholm, which had, in former days, been the prison of one of his ancestors. Some plans for his deliverance are said to have been agitated in the army, but these being frustrated, the King, anticipating his dethronement, signed an Act of Abdication, which was produced at the opening of the Diet as his own voluntary act and deed. A strain of religion marked this document. After declaring that the honour and happiness of his kingdom had ever been the objects of his pursuit, he acknowledged that he could no longer exercise the royal functions, according to the purity of his intentions, and preserve order and tranquillity in the realm; he therefore deemed it his duty to resign the crown, and devote the remainder of his days to the fear and worship of God. He concluded by imploring the blessing of the Almighty on all who had been under his authority; and exhorting them to fear God and honour the King. The States immediately declared that Gustavus had violated his oath, that the compact between him and his subjects was irrevocably dissolved, and that he and his issue were for ever excluded from the throne of Sweden. The only reason assigned for thus punishing the children for the errors of their father, was the probability of their renewing the present calamities, under the guidance of

principles inherited by them, or impressed upon them. These unjust proceedings, connected with the subsequent events, leave little doubt that the Swedish Revolution was chiefly effected by foreign influence, and that the mask of patriotism was assumed by the revolutionists to favour the designs of France and Russia.

The Duke of Sudermania was now proclaimed king of Sweden, by the title of Charles XIII. and a new constitution was granted to the people, which circumscribed, in some degree, the influence of the crown, but still continued to the nobles an exemption from taxes, and other unjust privileges. The throne was declared to be hereditary in the male line exclusively;—the King was to profess the Lutheran or Evangelical Religion;—to him belonged the command of the army and navy, the appointment to all offices, ecclesiastical, civil, and military, and the decision on all the ordinary affairs of administration, assisted by at least three out of nine Counsellors of State. He might declare war, or conclude peace, but not till he had stated his reasons to the Council, who were bound to give their opinions, and be responsible for them. He had power to pardon criminals, or to commute punishment. No subject could be deprived of life, liberty, honour, or property without trial; nor any person persecuted for his religious opinions, unless those opinions were injurious to the community; and no judge could be removed from his office, except on proof

of criminality. In case of the King's death without heirs male, the Diet was authorized to choose a successor. The States were to assemble at Stockholm every fifth year, and without their consent no taxes could be levied. Other clauses guarded the purity of elections, and a committee was established for superintending the liberty of the press. The deputies from the peasants made great efforts, during the sitting of the Diet, to compel the nobles to bear some share of the burthens of the state ; but cheerfully as this class had acquiesced in the deposition of their sovereign, in the exclusion of his innocent family, and in the limitation of the powers of the crown, yet, when their own peculiar privileges were assailed, they proved deaf to every argument which was produced to persuade them to submit to so just and equitable an arrangement.

Charles XIII. was crowned on the 29th of June, and soon after he relinquished to the disposal of the States all the Royal Palaces with their domains, reserving to the Royal Family the right of inhabiting them during the summer months. A pension was assigned to the deposed King, now stiled Count Gottorp, and he and his family were liberated about the end of December, and permitted to retire to Switzerland, which was fixed on as their place of residence. The new Sovereign being far advanced in years, and without children, the States chose for his successor Prince Christian Augustus of Sleswic Holstein Sondenborgh

Augustenburg, then Governor of Norway, who landed at Gottenburg, amidst great rejoicings, soon after the departure of Gustavus.

In the mean time, Russia had insisted that, previous to the conclusion of the treaty with Sweden, her ports should be shut against England; but as it was by the latter power only that Sweden was supplied with salt and colonial produce, the demand could not be complied with, and the war was continued a few months longer. It produced, however, no event of importance, except the capture of twenty-one sail of Russian vessels, laden with timber, naval stores, ammunition, and provisions, by a British squadron, under Captain Martin. Twelve of these, under convoy of eight gun-boats, had taken a very strong position between two rocks, but they were attacked and gallantly carried by the boats of the squadron under Lieutenant Hankey, who was killed by a grape-shot in the moment of victory. The whole of the enemy's ships were taken or destroyed, with the loss, on the part of the British, of seventeen killed, and thirty-seven wounded. The British, in the course of the year, had captured in the Baltic, ninety Russian, and three hundred and forty Danish vessels.

The Emperor Alexander having, at length, consented to abandon the article for excluding salt and colonial produce from Great Britain, the treaty of peace was signed on the 5th of September. By it some of the richest provinces

of Sweden were ceded to Russia, and it is computed that she lost, by the war, a fourth of her territory, and a sixth of her population. Peace was concluded with Denmark soon after, and the Emperor Alexander engaged to use his best efforts to bring the negotiations between Sweden and France to an amicable issue, which was speedily accomplished.

But the most memorable event of the year was the new war which broke out between France and Austria. The latter power had four years since purchased the Peace of Presburgh by the cession of Venice to France, and the Tyrol and Voralberg to Bavaria, and by acknowledging the regal titles which Napoleon had conferred on some of the German Electors. From that period the French Emperor had neglected no means to increase his influence with the Germanic Body. In July, 1806, the Confederation of the Rhine was formed under his protection. It consisted of the Kings of Bavaria and Wirtemberg, the Archbishop of Ratisbon, the Prince Primate, the Grand Dukes of Baden, Berg, Hesse-Darmstadt, Nassau-Weilbourg, and Nassau-Usingen, the Princes of Hohenzollern-Hechingen and Seigmaringen, Salm-Salm, Salm-Kyrburg, Isenburg, Birstein, and Litchenstein, the Duke of Aremberg, and the Prince of Leyn. These princes thus became feudatories of France, every continental war in which any of them was engaged being pronounced by the Act of Confederation to be common to all. In case of

such event France was to furnish two hundred thousand men, Bavaria thirty thousand, Wirtemberg twelve thousand, Baden eight thousand, Berg five thousand, and the other states four thousand each. Upon the signing of the Act of Confederation, Francis II. formally abdicated his office as head of the Germanic Empire, and assumed the title of Emperor of Austria.

Prussia attempted to form a similar Confederation for the North of Germany, under her own protection, but these efforts only tended to increase the preponderating influence of France. The battle of Jena and its results despoiled her of a great portion of her territories. The regal title was conferred on the Elector of Saxony; Westphalia was erected into a kingdom for Jerome Bonaparte; and the Confederation of the Rhine was extended to the banks of the Elbe.

These never-ceasing efforts, on the part of the French Emperor, to further his ambitious views proved a natural incentive to the Emperor Francis to call forth all his resources, in contemplation of a renewed contest, for the success of which the glorious struggle of the Spaniards against the gigantic power of France might have furnished him with a fresh ground for hope. The task of renovating the army, which had been so dreadfully deteriorated by the last war, was wisely entrusted to the Archduke Charles. All persons capable of bearing arms were ordered to enrol their names for the militia; and the States of

Lower Austria furnished three hundred thousand suits of regimentals, for such of them as were unable to clothe themselves.

These mighty preparations did not escape the penetrating eye of the vigilant Napoleon. At the levee, on his birth-day, in the preceding year, he remonstrated with the Austrian Ambassador, Count Metternich, on the subject. The latter declared that the intentions of his Court were pacific, and that the preparations alluded to were merely for defence. Napoleon asserted, that Austria had no cause to dread an attack. He declared that his troops encamped in foreign countries, because their subsistence cost less than it would in France; and that if it were necessary for the quiet of Austria, he would break up those encampments. He denied that she had any thing to fear from Russia, and finally he, as usual, attributed these movements to the intrigues of English partisans.

In October, 1808, Napoleon addressed a letter from Erfurth to the Emperor Francis, couched in a similar strain, and soon after he marched two hundred thousand men from Germany into Spain, the conquest of which he had hoped would be the work of only a few weeks. But still the vigilance of the French Emperor never slept, and during his successful progress in the Peninsula, his jealousy with regard to the intentions of Austria is said to have been strengthened by the discovery of a negotiation between the Spanish Junta and the Court of Vienna; while the reception of Spanish

emigrants at Trieste, and opening that port to English vessels, were alleged as further causes of complaint. Under these impressions, Napoleon wrote to the members of the Confederation of the Rhine to hold their contingents in readiness, and soon after returned to France. He seemed, however, unwilling to involve himself in a new contest, till he had accomplished his darling object, the conquest of Spain; and to protract the time, he proposed a triple alliance between Russia, Austria, and France, by which each of those powers should guarantee another against the interference of the third, but this not producing the desired effect, Napoleon resolved to prepare for the conflict.

The military force of Austria was, at this period, truly formidable. Her regular army contained three hundred and fifty thousand men, and her militia two hundred and fifty thousand. The most prudent and vigorous methods had been adopted, to render this army as efficient in its discipline and equipment as in its numerical strength; and the energies of the press were put in exercise, to inspire the soldiers with a spirit of patriotism, and animate them with the conviction that they were about to engage in a contest for their hearths and their altars. The proclamation of the Spanish Patriots was circulated amongst them, and an energetic address from the Archduke Charles called on them to stand forth in defence of the liberties of Germany. The various provocations which Austria had received from France since the

Peace of Presburgh, were enumerated in a Manifesto published by the Emperor. The formation of the Confederation of the Rhine, he said, had subverted the Constitution of the Empire, and forced him to lay down the Crown of Germany. The conditions of peace had not been performed on the part of France, and every attempt to procure their execution was answered with reproaches and threats. Proposals had been made by Napoleon to the Emperor, that he should utterly abandon all connexion with England, accompanied with a menace that he must choose between such a resolution and an immediate war with France. The restless ambition of the French ruler had led him to propose to the Emperor a plan for the dissolution and partition of the Turkish Empire, the only sure consequence of which, (besides its palpable injustice,) would have been the introduction of a French army into the interior of his states, an event of which Spain had set a fearful example, where a dynasty closely connected by family bonds with the Austrian house, had been robbed of its throne and its freedom. Environed by two hundred thousand men, should the conquest of the Western States be completed by that of the Peninsula, what was to be expected but that the next mortal blow would be aimed at Austria? To adopt a perfect system of defence was the only means of averting the impending danger, but these measures were considered as hostile movements against France, and the French Cabinet

declared, that unless these movements were succeeded by measures of a contrary tendency, war was inevitable. From that day war was to be considered as declared, the language then held having never been retracted. The campaign in Spain had indeed occasioned a respite of a few months; but no sooner had the French ruler reason to believe that his conquest of that unhappy country was secure, than he issued his commands for the armament in Germany, and his return to the French capital was the signal for the most detestable libels against the Austrian house, and no means were left unemployed to alienate the affections of his people from their sovereign. Finally, the Emperor declared that he had recourse to arms, because the duty of self-preservation did not permit him to comply with the conditions which France insisted on; and because he dared no longer delay the protection of the countries which God had entrusted to him, against an invasion long planned, more than once clearly announced, and now ripe for execution.

Such were the alleged causes which induced Austria, perhaps with more magnanimity than prudence, to enter the lists once more against France. The chief command of the army was conferred upon the Archduke Charles, with full powers, and he entered Vienna on the 8th of March, at the head of the oldest regiment in the service. He was received by the inhabitants with the loudest acclamations, as the last hope of the

Empire and the Imperial House. The Austrian army was divided into nine corps, each consisting of more than thirty thousand men. Six of these were placed under the immediate command of the Archduke Charles, one was sent into Poland under the Archduke Ferdinand, and two corps were in Italy under the Archduke John. There was besides a *corps-de-reserve* of thirty thousand men, commanded by Prince John of Litchtenstein and General Kienmayer, and the Archdukes Lewis and Rainer were employed to discipline the Hungarian insurrection.

Nor did Napoleon, upon this occasion, relax his accustomed energy in making preparations for the approaching conflict. His troops were advancing with rapid strides from the interior of France to the borders of the Danube, while his vassals, the Princes of the Confederation, were busily engaged in marshalling their armies, and placing their fortresses in a posture of defence. At the beginning of April, the French and their allies occupied the following positions:—Davoust's corps was at Ratisbon, Massena's at Ulm, and Oudinot's at Augsburg; the Bavarians, in three divisions, occupied Munich, Landshut, and Straubing, under the chief command of Marshal Lefebvre. A division of Wirtemberghers was at Heydenheim, the Saxons under the walls of Dresden, and the Poles under Poniatowski near their own capital.

The Austrian army was put in motion early in April, for the purpose of entering Bavaria,

previous to which the Archduke Charles addressed a letter to the King Maximilian Joseph, assuring him that hostilities should only be directed against the enemy of the independence of Europe; and that his Majesty might confide in the protection of the Austrian Emperor. His Bavarian Majesty, however, who was at that time the devoted vassal of Napoleon, withdrew from Munich to Dilligen, taking with him his treasures and jewels, and on the 9th of April the Austrians crossed the Inn, and advanced towards the Bavarian capital. Lefebvre (Duke of Dantzic) attempted to stop their progress at Landshut; in the conflict a considerable part of the town was destroyed, but the Austrians having forced the passage of the Iser, continued their march to Munich.

In the mean time, Napoleon had joined his army. He reached Donawerth on the 17th, and instantly pledged himself to restore the King of Bavaria to his capital within twelve days, nor was he slow in adopting measures to fulfil his promise. An address to his army, in his usual inflated style, was the precursor of those rapid movements, which quickly brought him in contact with his opponents.

The first object of the Archduke Charles was to cut off the corps of Davoust, before it could form a junction with those of Oudinot and Massena; and for this purpose four corps of Austrians advanced towards the Danube, in the direction of Kohlheim and Ratisbon. But the celerity of the

French frustrated this project. Oudinot, after defeating a body of Austrians at Pfaffenhoffen on the 19th, was joined by Massena on the following day. Davoust and Lefebvre were equally successful against other divisions of their antagonists. In this action, which was called the battle of Tan, the loss of the Austrians was very considerable. Among the wounded was Field-Marshal Lusignan, and two of the Princes of Lichtenstein.

These events were followed on the next day by a more important engagement. Napoleon, since his arrival at the army, had neglected no means of becoming perfectly acquainted with the positions of his opponents, and he resolved, with his usual rapidity, to take advantage of their errors. An opportunity quickly presented itself, the Archduke Lewis and General Hiller having drawn their divisions to an imprudent distance from the other corps of the Austrian army. Bonaparte took post at Abensberg, in front of the Archduke Charles, while Davoust kept in check the corps of Hohenzollern, Rosenberg, and Lichtenstein; and Massena getting in the rear of the Austrians, cut off their communication with the Tyrol. Napoleon placing himself at the head of the Bavarians and Wirtemberghers, addressed them in a speech, in which, he reminded the former of their ancient enmity to the House of Austria, and the latter of their exploits in the Prussian service. The troops of the Confederates being led on to the attack by Wrede and Vandamme, while Lannes

turned the left of the Austrians, the latter were speedily driven from their position which was very unfavourable, with the loss of eight thousand prisoners, and several cannon and standards. An attempt of the Archduke to prevent the junction of Davoust with Lefebvre failed of success on the same day, though the Princes of Hohenzollern and Lewis of Lichtenstein seized the colours, and advanced at the head of their troops to animate their courage. This result enabled the enemy to accomplish their junction along the Danube.

Napoleon now advanced with rapidity to Landshut, where the Austrians had their magazines. Bessieres defeated their cavalry, who were drawn up on the plain before the city, while the French grenadiers forced the bridge, and penetrated into the place, capturing nine thousand prisoners, thirty pieces of cannon, a great number of caissons and baggage waggons, with the hospitals and magazines. In the mean time the Archduke Charles having formed a junction with the Bohemian army under Kollowrath, surprised a thousand French, who had been left to guard the bridge at Ratisbon; and Napoleon fearing that he might advance against Davoust and Lefebvre, who kept three Austrian corps in check, made one of his accustomed rapid movements to frustrate this design.

Prince Charles had taken a position at Eckmühl with an army of one hundred and ten thousand men, and on the 22d Napoleon arrived in

front of the town with the two divisions of Lannes, that of Massena and the Wirtemberghers, and the cuirassiers of Nansouty and St. Sulpice. The Austrians were instantly attacked, and after a long and obstinate contest, their left wing was turned, and they were driven from all their positions. The Archduke Charles is said to have been indebted for his escape upon this occasion, to the fleetness of his horse, while a cannon-ball grazed the heel of the French Emperor. Twenty thousand prisoners, according to the French statement, were captured by the victors in this battle, eight thousand cut to pieces in the pursuit of the following day, and a similar number taken in the city of Ratisbon, which was set on fire during the conflict. The Austrian accounts, however, reduced the number to six thousand killed and wounded, and nine thousand six hundred prisoners, while they asserted that the enemy's army suffered a diminution of ten thousand men.

The result of the action was, no doubt, in the highest degree, disastrous to the Austrians, who were completely expelled from Bavaria; while Prince Charles, being cut off from the Inn and Vienna, that capital lay at the mercy of the victors. Having detached Lefebvre and Wrede against the Palatinate and the Tyrol, Napoleon fixed his head-quarters at Ratisbon, where he issued a proclamation to his army, enumerating he successes already obtained, and animating them

to fresh exertions. He at the same time sequestrated the estates of those princes and others, members of the empire, who had not conformed to the provisions of the Confederation of the Rhine.

Bessieres and Oudinot possessed themselves of Schaerding and Ried, where the Austrians had considerable magazines, and on the 3d of May, Bonaparte reached Lintz. On the same day Massena attacked a body of Austrians under the command of the Archduke Lewis and General Hiller near Ebersberg. A dreadful conflict ensued, in which the French asserted that their opponents lost twelve thousand men, but the Austrian accounts reduced the number to four thousand. They were compelled, however, to continue their retreat to Vienna, while the victors pressed forward with unabated ardor, possessing themselves of immense magazines of every kind on their march. At nine in the morning, on the 10th of May, Bonaparte appeared for the second time before Vienna, being exactly one month from the commencement of the campaign. He immediately took possession of the suburbs, which are far more extensive than the city, and fixed his residence at the Palace of Schoenbrunn.

The Emperor Francis had retired into Moravia, on the approach of the French, and the command of the city was entrusted to the Archduke Maximilian. About fifteen thousand troops (mostly irregulars) were in the town; but though Vienna was formerly considered an important fortress, it

had been so long the seat of a splendid and luxurious court, that it was not now looked on as defensible ; and its ramparts which had once successfully resisted the power of the Turks, were now adorned with palaces. Its casemates and ditches were converted into work-shops ; plantations decorated the counterscarps of the fortress, and avenues of trees traversed the glacis. Some shew of resistance was, however, made at first, and a refusal to surrender returned to the summons of Napoleon. The latter, however, was resolved to enforce submission to his mandates, and having seized on the Prater, an island in the Danube, a battery of twenty mortars was erected within two hundred yards of the city, and a bombardment commenced on the evening of the 11th. Consternation now prevailed through every quarter of Vienna, and the Archduke perceiving that the French were taking measures to cut off his retreat, made his escape over the bridge of Tabor. General O'Reilly having assumed the command, immediately offered to capitulate, and, by the terms which the conqueror proposed, the property and privileges of the inhabitants were preserved inviolate. Some circumstances would lead us to suppose that Napoleon at this time meditated the complete subversion of the Austrian Monarchy. This was hinted at in his bulletins, and in an address to the Hungarians, in which he called upon them to resume their existence as a nation, and choose a king for themselves. The Austrians,

whom he had taken prisoners in the conquered provinces, he cruelly incorporated with the Bavarian army, thus compelling them to fight against their own countrymen, and exposing them to the punishment of traitors ; whilst those who had been sent to France were placed at the disposition of the prefects, and forced to labour for the farmers and manufacturers.

But the repose of the French after this career of conquest was of short continuance, Prince Charles having arrived with a considerable force in the neighbourhood of the Austrian capital. This gallant chieftain, after the battle of Eckmühl, had crossed to the north side of the Danube, and being joined by the army of Bohemia under Bellegarde, he hoped to reach Vienna before the French. But finding from the route the enemy had taken that this was impossible, he still entertained the expectation, that it would hold out sufficiently long, to enable him to attempt its preservation by a battle under its walls : this hope, however, was also frustrated by the capitulation of the city. Being joined between Horn and Meissau by the Archduke Maximilian, and the troops who had escaped, he assembled his forces, amounting to seventy-five thousand men, and two hundred and eighty-eight pieces of cannon, at the foot of the hill of Bisamberg, while his out-posts extended on the right to the Marchfeld, and on the left to Krems, which place and Presburgh were strongly fortified. His ad-

vance-guard was pushed to the Danube, to watch the motions of the enemy, and on the 16th the Archduke fixed his head-quarters at Ebersdorff, near the high road leading to Brunn.

Napoleon was not slow in his preparations to renew the contest, and he resolved to cross the Danube, which now divided the hostile armies, and attack the position of the Archduke. On the 19th the Austrians perceived a general movement of the enemy on the opposite bank, towards Kaiser-Ebersdorff, about six miles from Vienna, whither the French Emperor had removed his head-quarters. Opposite to this place, the Danube is divided into three branches by two islands. The first of these, which is of small extent, is separated from the right bank by a channel four hundred and eighty yards across, and from the second island, called In-der-Lobau, by a strait not more than half that breadth. This latter island is six miles long, and more than four in breadth, and it is divided from the extensive plain of Marchfield by the narrowest channel in the river. A division of the French army having been conveyed in boats to the great island, nothing could prevent the construction of bridges across the different branches, and, on the 20th, Napoleon himself crossed to In-der-Lobau, to superintend this important undertaking. In three hours he threw a bridge of fifteen pontoons from this island to the Marchfield, and a great portion of the French army having reached the left bank, the

right wing was posted on the village of Essling, and the left on that of Aspern.

Prince Charles had resolved not to interrupt the passage of the enemy, but to attack them on the following day. He accordingly retired as the French extended themselves, and formed his army in two lines, on the rising ground, between Bisamberg and the Russ. Wagram was strongly occupied; a division in reserve was posted on the heights beyond that place, and in front of the line lay the extensive plain of the Marchfeld, which appeared a suitable arena for the mighty conflict which was about to commence.

At nine o'clock on the morning of the 21st, the Austrian commander ordered the troops to pile their arms, and take refreshment. The enemy being perceived at the same time passing the bridge without intermission, and covering the plain, the Archduke was convinced that the moment for battle was come, and he issued his plan for attacking them on their march, between Essling and Aspern, towards Herchstaden. The army was to move in five columns, under the command of Generals Hiller, Bellegarde, and Rosemberg, supported by strong bodies of cavalry and grenadiers.

The field of battle was highly favorable to the French, and Napoleon availed himself of all its advantages. The villages of Essling and Aspern were very extensive. Mostly built of brick, and being encompassed by mounds of earth, they

resembled two bastions, between which a double line of trenches served as a curtain, and protected the passage of the columns from the Isle of Lobau. Essling possessed a granary furnished with loop-holes, and at Aspern the church-yard served as a fortress. Reinforcements could arrive unseen through the bushy ground near the Danube, while great advantages were derived from the island in the rear, which served as a place of arms, and also protected the main branch of the river.

The Austrian columns began their march exactly at noon. They manifested the greatest enthusiasm: war songs, accompanied by Turkish music, resounded through the air, which were frequently interrupted by shouts of "Long live the Emperor, and the Archduke Charles!" The first column, under General Hiller, directed itself upon Aspern, where Massena was posted. Here a murderous contest took place, which continued for seven hours, every street and house being repeatedly lost and won. The valour of the French upon this occasion was fully equalled by that of their opponents, and the Vienna volunteers rivalled the veteran battalions in courage and perseverance. At length the second Austrian column combining its efforts with the first, the French were driven out of the village, and General Vacquant, with eight battalions, maintained himself in it during the whole of the night.

While the first and second columns of the Austrian army were engaged in this sanguinary fight, the third, under Prince Hohenzollern, engaged the left wing of the French near Herschstadtten. It was commanded by Lassalle, and consisted chiefly of cavalry. The enemy charged the first line of the Austrians in such force, and with so much rapidity, that they turned both wings, penetrated between the battalions, and repulsed some squadrons of O'Reilly's light horse, who attempted to oppose their progress. Flushed with this success, the French ordered the six battalions of which the line was composed to lay down their arms; but the only answer to this degrading summons was a powerful and well-directed fire, which compelled the enemy to abandon this part of the field, after sustaining considerable loss.

The village of Essling was the point of attack to which the fourth and fifth columns had directed their efforts. They advanced by different routes, and on their march repulsed several charges of the French cavalry. The enemy were at length driven into Essling, which was set on fire; repeated but unavailing attempts were made to drive them from this important post, but as the French knew that on its possession depended the security of their retreat, every new attack was met with fresh reinforcements. In one of these conflicts General Durosnel, Equerry to the French

Emperor, was taken prisoner, a few paces from his master.

Night brought some respite from the work of death ; but the few hours that preceded the return of day were employed on both sides in the most vigorous efforts for the renewal of the combat. The French army was reinforced in the interval by the corps of Oudinot and St. Hillaire, with some cavalry and artillery, while the grenadier corps of reserve joined the Austrians from its position behind Gerarsdorf. At four in the morning the battle was renewed by Massena on the side of Aspern ; and General Vacquant's troops, exhausted by the incessant fire kept up during the night, were forced to abandon it. The place was alternately taken and lost during the day, till at length the superiority of the Austrian fire compelled their antagonists to abandon the burning houses, and a last assault of Hiller's corps obliged them to give up all further attempts in this quarter.

Hiller's success enabled Count Bellegarde to act with the second column against the main body of the French. Causing his right wing to rest on Aspern, he formed his left and centre in the direction of Essling, and by bringing the whole force of his artillery to bear on the enemy's left wing, he compelled them to retreat. But the principal attack of the French was directed upon the point where the corps of cavalry of Prince Litchtenstein communicated with the left wing of

the third column. Here the enemy's infantry was drawn up in strong divisions, and their heavy cavalry in large masses. Two hundred pieces of artillery scattered destruction on both sides, and the oldest soldiers never remembered to have witnessed so tremendous a fire. Napoleon rode along his line, declaring that he had ordered the bridges to be broken down, and that no alternative now remained but victory or death. Prince Charles, on the other hand, seized the colours of Zach's regiment, and his heroic example filled the army with enthusiasm. Every attack of the enemy was repulsed, and they were at length compelled to fall back at all points.

The fourth and fifth corps, under Prince Rosemberg, had been engaged against the village of Essling from the earliest dawn, and five times they received and repulsed the charges of the enemy's heavy cavalry. The Princes Hohenlohe and Rohan at length forced their way into the place, but the French fought with the fury of despair in defence of a post upon which their security depended, and Prince Rosemberg was compelled to confine himself to the maintenance of his position, to secure the left flank of the army.

The preservation of Essling saved the French from total ruin. They were now in full retreat, and had to effect their passage to the island by a single bridge, the others having been destroyed during the preceding night, by fireships sent

down the river by the Austrians; but according to the French bulletins, this disaster was occasioned by the sudden rise of the Danube. Essling was evacuated at three o'clock, on the morning of the 23d, and the French, notwithstanding the disadvantages under which they laboured, effected their retreat in the most perfect order. Only three pieces of cannon, and two thousand three hundred prisoners were taken by the Austrians.

The battle of Aspern (or Essling, as it has been denominated by the French,) was the most sanguinary and obstinate conflict which Europe had witnessed from the commencement of the revolutionary war. The Austrian army manifested a degree of skill and valour superior to any thing which had in recent years marked their conduct in the field, and Bonaparte was seen, for the first time, to turn his back upon a continental enemy. The loss on both sides was immense. The Austrians lamented the death on the field of battle of four thousand two hundred and eighty-six men, including eighty-seven superior officers, and the number of their wounded was rated at sixteen thousand three hundred and twenty-five. Amongst these were Prince Rohan, Winzingerode, Colloredo, and eight other Generals. With respect to the loss of the French, the Austrian official accounts asserted that more than seven thousand of their dead were buried in the field, that five thousand six hundred of their wounded were left behind, and that twenty-nine thousand wounded

were lodged in Vienna and its suburbs. Generals Lannes,\* D'Espagne, St. Hillaire, and Albuquerque were amongst the slain; and Massena, Bessieres, Molitor, Boudet, Legrand, Lasalle, and the two brothers Legrange, were wounded: Generals Durosnel and Foulcrand were taken prisoners. The French, however, according to their usual scale of diminution, when stating their casualties, pretended that only eleven hundred of their army were killed, and three thousand wounded.

Great hopes were now entertained that the spell of invincibility, which had hitherto surrounded the name of Bonaparte, was broken, that he was shorn of his strength, and had become like other men. The Emperor Francis immediately after the battle visited his army. He addressed the Archduke Charles as the chief support of his throne and the saviour of his country; he commended in terms of the warmest gratitude the enthusiastic valour which had been displayed by the troops, and he trusted, 'that this rare spirit would be preserved amongst them.' It speedily

\* General Lannes (created by Bonaparte Duke of Montebello) had received thirteen wounds in different actions. His thigh was broken by a cannon shot towards the close of the battle of Aspern. Being carried on a hand-barrow to Napoleon, the latter appeared much affected. The General embraced him and said, that within an hour he would lose one who died with the glory and the consolation of being his best friend. Amputation was performed, but after lingering nine days he expired:

appeared, however, that the victors knew not how to profit by the advantages thus unexpectedly put into their power, and the enemy was permitted undisturbed to recruit his exhausted strength, and prepare with augmented vigour for the renewal of the contest.

During these important transactions on the banks of the Danube, a spirit of resistance against French aggression had broken out in the North of Germany, which at first promised to effect a powerful diversion in favour of Austria. Colonel Von Schill, a Prussian officer, who for his bravery and conduct had been raised to the command of a regiment, conceived the hope of being able to rouse his countrymen, to an effort towards ridding themselves of that degrading yoke which a foreign despot had imposed upon them. Having secured the co-operation of about thirty of his brother officers, he marched his regiment a little way out of Berlin, on the evening of the 16th of April, for the purpose of exercise, and informed them of his intentions. Four hundred soldiers declared their willingness to follow him, and he immediately led them towards Saxony, distributing as he went proclamations of the most animating tendency. In Hesse, (the seizure of which, by Bonaparte, was of a piece with the treacherous entrance of his troops into Spain,) Colonel Von Dornberg had also raised the standard of insurrection, and the mass of the inhabitants of the new kingdom of Westphalia panted to be delivered from the domi-

nation of the puppet monarch, which Napoleon had conferred upon them. Schill's force was soon augmented to eight thousand men ; with these he entered Mecklenburgh, and hoisted the German eagle. He traversed Saxony, Hesse, and Hanover for some time, in anxious expectation of assistance from England. But this hope not having been realized, while hostile troops were advancing against him from various quarters, he crossed the Elbe with four thousand men. He now overran Mecklenburgh, and formed the intention of putting to sea, and securing himself in some island till the English should come to relieve him. Being, however, too closely pressed to effect this object, on the 25th of May he forced his way into Stralsund, which had been lately dismantled by Bonaparte. Yet he resolved to avail himself to the utmost of the trifling fortifications which remained, and to sell his life as dearly as possible. On the 31st, a combined force of Dutch and Danes under General Gratien appeared before the town, and stormed the gates with their artillery. The little band of Patriots defended every street and house with a courage worthy of their cause, and would probably have been successful, had not the gallant Schill unfortunately fallen in the contest. His troops now gave way, and the remnant of these brave men were forced to surrender as prisoners of war. But notwithstanding the capitulation, thirty-one of the officers were handed over to a military tribunal, and were put to death

at Wesel and Brunswick. They met their fate with the greatest intrepidity, and uttering exclamations of the most devoted patriotism. All who possessed a spark of national feeling considered them as martyrs in the cause of their country, and for a long period their graves were frequently strewed with garlands or with epitaphs in honour of the murdered Patriots.

Another effort was made at the same period by the Duke of Brunswick Oels to awaken the Germans to a sense of their degraded state, and stimulate them to those exertions which alone could deliver them from the galling yoke by which they were oppressed. At the commencement of the campaign he had made a Convention with the Court of Vienna, to raise a corps of more than two thousand men, and the Emperor of Austria engaged to support him as an ally. The Court of Berlin, however, threw such obstacles in his way, that he could not take the field till the 12th of May, the day on which Vienna capitulated. He marched to Turnau, and occupied cantonments from Neustadt to Rumburg, towards the Bohemian frontiers, giving strict orders to commit no hostilities against the Saxons. But repeated acts of aggression on the part of the latter forced him to change his resolution, and after defeating the Saxons in several encounters, and being joined by the Austrian General Am-Ende, the combined corps entered Dresden. The imbecility of the Austrian General, however,

prevented the gallant Brunswick from following up with vigour the successes which he had already obtained ; and after defeating the enemy at Lutzen, he was, for want of support, compelled to retreat to Stanchwitz, when he fortunately met with the Austrian General Kienmayer, who had been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the troops in Saxony and Franconia.

The Duke of Brunswick now attached his little army to the corps of Kienmayer, whose object was to form a close combination with General Rade-wojewich in the environs of Ober Mayn, and collect a force capable of destroying one of the enemy's corps in the two provinces above mentioned. They soon after defeated Junot with considerable loss, and King Jerome retreating before them, they were at the end of June, masters of a considerable part of Franconia, the Upper Mayn, and the Middle Elbe.

Events, however, occurred at the grand theatre of the war, which rendered all these successes nugatory, and once more brought the Imperial House of Austria to the verge of ruin. The period which had elapsed since the battle of Aspern was employed by the hostile armies in recruiting their strength, which had been so much exhausted by that sanguinary conflict. To augment their forces in this important quarter, the Austrians resolved to abandon all subordinate objects, and the Archduke Ferdinand, who had gained some advantages in Poland, was ordered

to join the grand army on the Danube. The Archduke John, who commanded in Italy, was also recalled. He had, at the commencement of the campaign, obtained some brilliant successes, and made himself master of Padua and Vicenza, but the Viceroy, Prince Eugene Beauharnois, having been reinforced from Tuscany, recaptured those places, and drove the Austrians beyond the Piave, with the loss of four thousand prisoners. The Archduke John now hastened, by forced marches, to join his brothers in the neighbourhood of Vienna, but he was vigorously pressed in his retreat by the Viceroy, who defeated him at Tarvis and at Raab with considerable loss. The Archduke, after this, arrived in some disorder at Pest in Hungary, while Prince Eugene led a strong reinforcement to the army of Napoleon.

The fertile genius of Bonaparte had been for some time anxiously directed to the adoption of such measures, as should enable him to wrest from his antagonist those advantages which he had acquired in the recent battle. The bridges to the Isle of Lobau were restored, under the direction of General Bertrand. One of these was built upon sixty arches, and was wide enough for three carriages to pass abreast. The second was for the passage of infantry, and the third was a bridge of boats. Every precaution was used to protect them from the attack of fire-ships, and they were defended by bridge-heads of considerable extent, and strongly fortified. Another bridge was con-

structed opposite Essling, in front of which General Le Grand occupied the woods. As the French were now complete masters of the Danube, battering cannon were mounted on the islands which bore on different points of the Austrian position.

The preparations of the enemy had thus been suffered to proceed without molestation, while the Archduke Charles seemed to confine himself entirely to the defensive; but the measures pursued for this purpose proved, in the end, altogether defective. He had, since the battle of Aspern, taken up a position between Wagram and Neusiedel, the front of which was covered by the Russbach, a small river, in most parts very deep, and with very steep banks. Gross Aspern on the right and Enzersdorff on the left protected this position, and the intervals between these villages were covered by redoubts surrounded by pallisades and friezes, and defended by a numerous artillery. Had these works been continued down the course of the Danube, as far as Muhlleitern, the passage of the French might have been rendered extremely difficult.

The army under the command of Prince Charles consisted of the corps of Generals Bellegarde, Hohenzollern, Kollowrath, Rosenberg, Reuss, and Hiller, amounting to about one hundred and fifteen thousand men. The van-guard was placed under the command of General Nordmann, and the reserve under that of Prince John of Litch-

tenstein. The cavalry did not exceed twelve thousand, and the army was not adequately supplied with artillery. The corps of the Archduke John, consisting of twelve thousand men, had, after the affair at Raab, encamped near Presburg, where he guarded the *tete-du-pont*.

From the 1st to the 4th of July an incessant cannonade was kept up from the Isle of Lobau, upon the Austrian entrenchments between Enzersdorff and Aspern, the only object of the enemy appearing to be to draw the principal attention of the Austrians to this point, while they effected the passage of the river in another quarter. At ten in the evening of the 4th, fifteen hundred French embarked in gun-boats at Ebersdorff, proceeded down the Danube, and after silencing the Austrian batteries, drove their troops from the woods before Muhlleitern. St. Croix also crossed with two thousand five hundred men from the Great Island, and under the direction of Desalles three bridges were constructed in a few hours. A dark and tempestuous night favoured the movements of the French, and before day-break on the morning of the 5th a considerable portion of their army had crossed the Danube. Napoleon arraying them quickly in order of battle, on the left wing of the Austrians, the Archduke Charles to his utter astonishment found all his entrenched camps turned, and his works rendered useless. All his fortifications between Essling and Enzersdorff

were taken, and nearly the whole of the garrisons killed or wounded.

Before eleven o'clock in the forenoon, the whole French army had passed the river, and General Nordmann, who commanded the Austrian van-guard, was compelled to abandon Enzersdorff, and retreat towards the left wing of the main army. The enemy now advanced upon Essling, and the 6th corps, finding its left flank uncovered by the retreat of General Nordmann, and its intrenchments threatened in the rear, retired through Breitenlehe to the heights of Stammersdorff. The operations of the main army were confined to the support of the retreating columns till two o'clock, when the 1st, 2d, and 4th corps took up their ground behind the Russbach, and began to throw up redoubts in their front; but the workmen were speedily dispersed by a furious cannonade from the French on the whole line from Alderklaa to Grosshoven. After this had continued about an hour, the enemy formed columns of attack on the centre of the position, forced the passage of the Russbach near Wagram, and broke the first line of the Austrians: the intrepid bravery and vigorous exertions of Prince Charles and General Bellegarde, however, rallied the retreating troops, and the enemy were driven back in confusion and considerable loss across the Russbach. Wagram was burnt down in the contest.

The firing ceased along the whole line about ten in the evening, and though the operations of the

day had produced a great loss of men on both sides, yet nothing decisive had been effected. The night was passed under arms, and from the only house left standing in Wagram the Archduke Charles issued his orders for the battle, which on the ensuing day was to decide the fate of thousands. On the morning of the 6th, the positions of the hostile armies were as follow:—The right of the Austrians extended from Stadelau to Gerarsdorf, the centre from the latter place to Wagram, where Prince Charles was stationed, and the left from Wagram to Neusiedel. The divisions of Bellegarde, Kollowrath, Litchtenstein, and Hiller connected the different positions. The banks of the Russbach were filled with riflemen, and Prince Rosemberg, who was stationed with the 5th corps at Markgraf and Neusiedel, was charged with securing a communication with the Archduke John near Siebenbrunn. The left of the French was at Gross Aspern, under the Prince of Ponte Corvo (Bernadotte); the Viceroy of Italy commanded the centre, where Napoleon took his station; and the corps of Marmont, and Oudinot, with the Imperial Guards and Curassiers, extended to Glinzendorff. In this disposition, the Archduke is charged with imprudence in weakening his centre, to extend and secure his extremities. Bonaparte, on the other hand, according to his usual system of tactics, strengthened the centre of his line, and to this circumstance the result of the battle has been attributed.

As the object of the Archduke was, by a concurrent attempt on both flanks of the enemy, to cut off his communication with the Danube, Prince Rosenberg's corps moved in three columns, at four o'clock in the morning, to attack the villages of Grosshoven and Glinzendorff, in which it was expected that the Archduke John would co-operate. But being met on his route by Davoust, and there being no appearance of the expected assistance, he was obliged to return to his position, after sustaining a heavy loss. Davoust now commenced a furious attack on Prince Rosenberg's posts at Markgraf and Neusiedel, and after an heroic defence, the latter was compelled by a tremendous fire of grape shot which mowed down his ranks in great numbers, to abandon this important position, by which the co-operation of the Archduke John, who from some unaccountable cause, did not arrive till four o'clock in the afternoon, proved wholly ineffectual.

The action began in the centre, at day-break, and the village of Alderklaa was for a considerable time the scene of a dreadful contest; but it was at length secured by the Austrians, and the French were driven back upon Raschdorff. The right wing of the Austrians moved, at the same time, towards Aspern, dislodged the enemy, and even pursued them to their *tete-du-pont* on the banks of the Danube. But their deficiency in cavalry, prevented them from taking a due

advantage of this retrograde movement of the centre of the French.

The penetrating eye of Napoleon now perceiving the error which the Archduke had committed in weakening his centre, he lost no time in availing himself of the advantage which had been afforded to him. Whilst Davoust was engaged against the Austrian left wing, Macdonald was ordered at the head of two strong columns, to advance against the centre of their position. They were preceded by more than one hundred pieces of artillery under General Lauriston, who within half-gun shot of the Austrians, opened a tremendous fire. General Reille with the fusileers and sharp-shooters supported Macdonald, and the Imperial Guards at the same time advanced in front, while the Austrians broken by this tremendous charge, fell back. Massena at the same time, was preparing to turn the right wing, and the retreat of the left being communicated to the rest of the army, the whole line retired in masses of battalions towards the road from Vienna to Brunn. The French continued the pursuit to a considerable distance from the field of battle, and the firing did not cease till nine o'clock at night.\* The Archduke John reached Obersiebenbrunn be-

\* A dreadful circumstance is said to have occurred during the battle. A field of rye having taken fire, two or three thousand wounded men, mostly Austrians, were miserably burned to death.

tween six and seven in the evening, but finding that the army had retreated, he immediately determined on retrograding to Marchek.

In this hard-fought battle, the result of which laid the Austrian monarchy once more prostrate at the feet of the haughty conqueror, the loss at both sides must have been very great. The statements of each party were, as usual, extremely discordant, the Austrians rating their casualties at twenty thousand in killed, wounded and prisoners, while their opponents asserted, that the prisoners alone which had fallen into their hands, amounted to that number. The French acknowledged a loss of not more than five thousand killed and wounded; the Austrians, on the other hand, estimated it as being nearly equivalent to their own, and that the case was similar with regard to trophies. General La Salle was the only officer of note who fell on the part of the French. Twelve fine villages in the beautiful plain of Vienna, were destroyed on this eventful day.

The result of the battle was, however, decisively favourable to the interests of Napoleon, and the Emperor Francis beheld from the top of a neighbouring tower, the complete discomfiture of an army, on which rested the fortunes of the Imperial House. As the conflict took place within sight of Vienna, the steeples, turrets, and roofs of the houses were covered with the numerous population of the capital, witnessing the awfully impressive spectacle of more than three hundred thousand

men, with several hundred pieces of cannon, contending for a mighty Empire, while the agitated feelings of those numerous individuals, whose dearest relations were exposed to all the perils of the sanguinary scene, must have filled every breast with the most intense anxiety.\*

The retreat of the Austrian army being cut off from Hungary and Moravia, they were compelled to fall back on Bohemia. Massena pursued them by Stockerau towards Hollabrunn, while Marmont took the road to Znaïm, whither the Emperor Francis had fled. Here the two French Generals formed a junction on the 10th, and a serious action had commenced, when Prince John of Lichtenstein arrived at the French advanced posts with proposals for a suspension of arms. Napoleon, who had just reached the scene of action, immediately ordered the firing to cease, and an armistice to be concluded, by which the Austrians agreed to evacuate the citadels of Brunn and Gratz, and to withdraw their troops from the Tyrol and Vorarlberg: a line of demarcation was fixed for both armies, until the conclusion of a treaty of peace. In the six days that elapsed from the period when the French army crossed the Danube to the conclusion of the armistice, the Austrians stated their

\* The Austrian artillery are said to have expended one hundred thousand rounds on this memorable day; and the cannon was so injured by incessant firing, that it was found necessary to re-bore all the touch-holes.

loss to be, seventeen generals, eight hundred and forty-seven officers, and thirty thousand four hundred and seventy-one men killed, wounded and prisoners, and they estimated that of the French to be one-third less.

The conclusion of the armistice having frustrated every hope of the deliverance of Germany at this time, the gallant Duke of Brunswick determined to march towards the North Sea, and form a junction with the English, who, it was reported, had effected a landing between the Elbe and the Weser.\* Having acquainted his little army with this resolution, most of his officers and many of the men abandoned him, and with the remnant he made towards Leipsic. In the front of the city he defeated a body of Saxon cavalry, who endeavoured to impede his march, and having heard at Quedlinburg, that General Reubell was advancing against him from Bremen, while some Westphalian troops had been ordered from Magdeburg to reinforce the French General, he resolved to attack the latter before this junction could be effected. He accordingly hastened to Halberstadt where these troops amounting to three thousand men had arrived, forced the gates, and after a desperate conflict in which numbers fell on both sides, he compelled the survivors,

\* This report originated in a spirited attack made by some British sailors and marines on a party of French near Cuxhaven.

amounting to sixteen hundred men to surrender prisoners of war. On the 31st of July, he reached Brunswick, the capital of his hereditary states, but here his situation became perilous in the extreme, and he could only wait to receive from his faithful subjects the strongest assurances of their unalterable devotion and attachment. Gratien, with his Dutch corps, who had effected the destruction of the brave Schill, was advancing against him on one side, while Reubell's troops, amounting to four or five thousand men, were approaching from Celle through Ohof. As this corps was designed to cut off his retreat to Cuxhaven, the gallant Brunswick, notwithstanding his great inferiority of force, resolved to give the enemy battle. He accordingly advanced towards Oelpern, in the evening of the 1st of August, and a desultory action ensued which continued till darkness came on, without any decisive advantage being gained by either side. The Duke made arrangements for renewing the action on the following day, but Reubell retreated towards Celle during the night.

Several of the officers, alarmed by the increasing strength of the enemy, now requested their discharge, and even advised their prince to consult his safety by capitulating; but this brave man, after granting their request, declared his determination to perish rather than surrender to his implacable enemy, and that all he had to promise those who chose to share his fortunes, was that he

would live or die with them. Resolved to hasten towards Bremen and Delmenhorst, he used every stratagem to deceive the enemy as to his intentions; and so well did he succeed, that fifty horse, who were sent to press on Reubell's rear-guard, were mistaken for the whole black legion, and ten waggons with wounded men were abandoned to their mercy. At Hanover he compelled a Westphalian battalion to lay down their arms. He also captured some detachments of French and Dutch with their cannon and stores, and he broke down several bridges in his route to retard Reubell, who had now re-commenced his pursuit of the Brunswickers. Bremen with a garrison of six hundred men, surrendered to a detachment of one hundred and fifty and two pieces of cannon, which the Duke sent forward to secure that place; and on the 6th of August, he arrived with his little band of heroes at the Hunta, where immediate arrangements were made for their embarkation, which was happily effected with the assistance of Lord George Stuart, in the *Amiable* frigate. On the 15th of the same month he landed in England, where his corps was afterwards taken into the British service.

During this short but memorable campaign, the States of the Tyrol and Voralberg had been a continued theatre of the most sanguinary warfare. The brave and hardy race that inhabited these mountains had been compelled, by the Treaty of Presburg, to transfer their allegiance from the

House of Austria, to which they had been for ages sincerely attached, to that of Bavaria ; and though the enjoyment of their ancient constitution (for they had ever been a free people,) was secured to them by the treaty, yet this compact was violated by their new sovereign in the most shameful manner. The representative states were abolished, the property of the church was confiscated, taxes of the most grievous nature were imposed upon them, and they were even prohibited, by an express law, from petitioning or remonstrating against the wrongs they suffered.\*

These dreadful oppressions rendered the Ty-

\* The population of the Tyrol was as far back as 1780 esitimated at sixty thousand. The Tyrolese have been in all ages as remarkable for their industry and integrity as their bravery. In summer they rear silk-worms and cultivate tobacco, hemp, and flax ; in winter the most active industry reigns in every village. The women embroider, knit or spin, while the men and boys are engaged in making those toys and boxes which are to be met in every part of Europe. Many of them travel in the summer to other countries to sell their wares, and on their return they faithfully divide with their partners the money they have acquired on their journey. Though their love of country is proverbial, yet a remarkable instance of the superior power of conscience occurred in 1681. Many of the descendants of the ancient Waldenses were found in the Archbishoprick of Salzburg and the Bishoprick of Brixen. They were ordered to go to mass, but sooner than sacrifice their religious principles, they, to the number of twenty thousand, abandoned the land of their birth and their attachment, and sought an asylum in the Protestant States of Germany and Switzerland.

rolese ripe for revolt, on the breaking out of hostilities between Austria and France. They chose for their leader Andreas Hofer, whom the French state to have been an inn-keeper, but accounts published by his own countrymen inform us, that he filled an office equivalent to our Justice of the Peace, and that he was a man of sound judgment, irreproachable life, and one of the best marksmen in the country. The insurrection commenced on the very day upon which the Archduke Charles entered Bavaria, and so well-arranged and simultaneous was it, that the whole of the French and Bavarian troops in the country, amounting to twenty-seven thousand men, were killed, wounded, or taken prisoners. The Austrians, under Marshal Chastelar, now hastened to their support, and the most enthusiastic greetings every where hailed their progress.

The hope of deliverance which thus dawned upon the Tyrolese, was, however, suddenly clouded by the misfortunes of the Austrians at the commencement of the campaign, which enabled Napoleon to pour fresh troops into this devoted country; and while Lefebvre at the head of twenty-four thousand men entered it by Salzburgh, three lesser armies, amounting together to fifteen thousand, penetrated from Italy, Carinthia, and Bavaria, the latter were beaten back, but Lefebvre proved more successful, and after some severe fighting, compelled the Austrians to evacuate the country. The Tyrol now became the scene of the most

horrible cruelty and devastation. Towns and villages were laid in ashes in every direction, and thousands of men, women, and children perished in the flames. In the village of Schwartz twelve hundred unfortunate individuals of both sexes and every age were thus destroyed, and the horrors committed by the French and Bavarians during this period, were stamped with such peculiar atrocity, as scarcely to find a parallel in the history of the most barbarous nations.

Roused to madness by their sufferings, the Tyrolese led on by Hofer and Speckbacher, again rushed upon their implacable enemies, whom they defeated, with great slaughter, in several actions; and Lefebvre being ordered to join the grand army after the battle of Aspern, with the remnant of his forces, these brave mountaineers over-ran a part of Italy, penetrated into Carinthia, and even obtained temporary possession of Constance. In their incursions they were assisted by a body of ten thousand Austrian prisoners who had effected their escape from the power of the French; but by the armistice which followed the battle of Wagram, the patriots were deprived of the assistance of this body of troops, with all the artillery and ammunition which had been captured from the enemy; they were, consequently, obliged to relinquish all their recent acquisitions.

Notwithstanding these reverses, the Tyrolese still determined to maintain their liberties by every means in their power. Hofer was appointed

Commander-in-Chief, and fixed his head-quarters at Inspruck. He was distinguished by a long heron's feather which he wore in a large green hat, and during his short administration, evinced as much talent in conducting the civil affairs of the state, as he had before in directing its military enterprizes. Napoleon, however, lost no time after the conclusion of the armistice with Austria, in crushing the efforts of this brave people to regain that freedom of which they had been basely deprived, and Lefebvre, at the head of forty thousand men, again entered the Tyrol. Hofer abandoned the capital at his approach, and entrenched himself at the Hermitage in the Unterraw, whither Lefebvre, at the head of twenty thousand men proceeded to attack him, while another body of ten thousand proceeded to the Innthal. Lefebvre, after three desperate attacks on the position, was compelled to retreat to Storzing, with the loss of more than half his army. The other detachment was not more fortunate.—They had to pass through a narrow defile between Landeck and Prutz, which was three leagues in length, and the Tyrolese, who concealed themselves among the crags on either side, had prepared huge stones and trunks of trees to roll down upon the advancing enemy. Every precaution had been taken to lull suspicion, and as soon as a pre-concerted signal was given, stones, trees, and loosened rocks were set in motion along the whole line of the ravine, and

six thousand French, Bavarians, and Saxons, are stated to have been destroyed or crippled by these tremendous weapons. Hofer instantly followed up his success by driving Lefebvre from Inspruck on the 16th of August, and the latter was once more obliged to evacuate the Tyrol with less than eleven thousand men of the forty thousand who had entered it.

General Rusca, who, with eighteen thousand Italian troops, had penetrated the country from Clagenfurt, was also compelled to make a precipitate retreat after losing three thousand men. In this short invasion the troops under Lefebvre and Rusca destroyed forty-one towns and villages, containing about seven thousand houses, and perpetrated cruelties of the most horrible nature on the unfortunate inhabitants. After being once more expelled from the country, they were pursued by Hofer into Salzburg and the Pierzaw, and the example of the brave Tyrolese began to excite corresponding feelings not only in many parts of Germany, but in Italy and Switzerland, to suppress which Napoleon and his vassals resorted to the most vigorous measures. A cordon of troops was drawn to cut off all communication between the Tyrolese and the Swiss; and in Saxony, Wirtemberg, and Venice, coercive plans were adopted to check the rising spirit of liberty.

During the residence of Napoleon at Vienna, a fresh rupture with the Pope, occupied a portion of his attention, and excited a considerable

degree of interest throughout Europe. In the preceding year he had by a stroke of his pen, united the papal territories to his Italian kingdom. By the constitution which he had conferred upon that kingdom, the crowns of France and Italy were never, after his death, to be united on one head. The possession of Vienna inspired him with projects of ulterior ambition, and by a process equally simple as the former, the papal territories were transferred from the Crown of Italy to that of France. Rome was declared to be a free imperial city : its monuments were taken under the protection of the French Empire ; and a revenue of two million of francs was settled on the Pope. Napoleon assigned as a reason for this measure, that the union of spiritual and temporal power in one person had ever been a fruitful source of dissension, and that the Popes had too often availed themselves of the one to support their pretensions to the other. An Extraordinary Consulta held at Rome, and which was composed of the creatures of Bonaparte, took formal possession of those territories, and issued a proclamation in which they reminded the Romans of their ancient glory, their degraded situation while under the papal government, and the great advantages which were held out to them by the proposed union with the French empire. This occurred on the 10th of June ; and on the very same day the Pope issued his protest against this new violation of the rights of the Church, and declared it null.

and void. He rejected any allowance which the French Emperor might intend to assign to him or to the members of the Sacred College. He at the same time, "by the authority of God Almighty, and of St. Paul and St. Peter, excommunicated and anathematised Napoleon, Emperor of the French and King of Italy, and all who had co-operated with him in this act of violence, declaring that he had incurred the greater excommunication;" and further, "that they had incurred the loss of all and every kind of privilege, grace, and indulgence, in whatsoever manner granted to them." It was declared at the same time, that absolution from this censure could only be obtained by publicly retracting and annulling every kind of outrage, or otherwise making condign satisfaction to the Holy See. The severity of these denunciations were in some degree tempered by a command issued by the Roman Pontiff to all Christian people, that none of them, on occasion of these letters, should presume to hurt, injure, prejudice, or damage, in any matter whatever, the said parties, their property, rights, or prerogatives.

Though Napoleon, unquestionably, felt little alarmed at this new imbecile exercise of authority on the part of the Roman Pontiff, yet his consummate policy led him to reflect, that the population of the country in which he was waging war were wholly Catholic, not only nominally, but in the most rigid sense of the term. It therefore accord-

ed equally with his interest to appear the great patron of the Romish religion in Austria, as it did to declare himself the supporter of Islamism in Egypt; and while he scrupled not to appropriate to himself the temporalities of that church, yet he professed to yield obedience to its ministers in every thing spiritual. His opinions on this subject were communicated to the bishops under his controul immediately after the battle of Wagram in a singular document, by which they were required to offer up thanksgivings for his victory. "Our Lord Jesus Christ," said he "though he sprang from the blood of David, sought for no worldly empire; on the contrary, he required that in the concerns of this life men should obey Cæsar. We, who are the inheritors of Cæsar's power, are firmly resolved to maintain the independence of our throne and the inviolability of our rights. We shall persevere in the great work of the restoration of the worship of God; we shall impart to its ministers that respectability which *we alone can give them*: we shall listen to their voice in all that concerns spiritual matters and affairs of conscience. We shall not be drawn aside from the great end which we strive to attain, and in which we have hitherto in part succeeded, the restoration of the altars of divine worship; neither shall we suffer ourselves to be persuaded that the principles of our faith, as Greeks, English, Protestants, and Calvinists affirm, are inconsistent with the independence of thrones and nations. God has

enlightened us enough to remove such errors from us. Our subjects entertain no such fear." This proceeding was in strict accordance with all his past conduct, which evidenced his amazing skill in rendering the peculiar passions and prejudices of those upon whom he wished to operate, subservient to the attainment of his purposes.

The negotiations which had been commenced between France and Austria soon after the battle of Wagram were not terminated till the 14th of October, when a Definitive Treaty of Peace was signed between the two powers. Though the Treaty deprived Austria of a considerable portion of her territory, and extorted from the Emperor Francis concessions, which reduced him to the rank of a vassal of France, yet it was matter of general surprize, that terms still more rigorous were not exacted from him. But in a few months the cause of this comparative moderation was fully explained.

By the Treaty of Vienna, Austria ceded to France, to be disposed of amongst the Sovereigns of the Confederation, the territories of Saltzburg and Bartholsgaden, with part of Upper Austria. Napoleon, as Emperor of the French and King of Italy, obtained Goritia, Trieste, Montefalcone, Carniola, part of Carinthia, and all the Austrian dominions south of the Saave. The whole of West Galicia and some districts in Bohemia were given to the King of Saxony; and to the Emperor of Russia was granted a considerable portion of

Eastern Galicia. The Emperor Francis agreed also to recognize all the changes which had taken place, or should subsequently have taken place in Spain, Portugal, and Italy; and he acceded to the prohibitory system with respect to England, and engaged to break off all intercourse with that country. In return for these valuable acquisitions, Napoleon guaranteed to the Austrian monarch the inviolability of his remaining possessions, and engaged to procure a complete pardon for the inhabitants of the Tyrol and Voralberg.

This brave people were at the time of the signing of the Treaty, successful on all sides. Not suspecting that they were about to be abandoned by those whom they had considered as their natural protectors, they continued the war, and defeated the enemy in several actions; but the French and their vassals having now no other object of warfare, poured into their country in immense numbers. Lefebvre again advanced to Inspruck, while Peyri entered Trent, and Rusca forced the entrenchments at Muhlbach. The Emperor Francis, at the same time, informed the Tyrolese, that he had been forced to make peace, partly on account of the disunion of his brothers, and partly because Russia had taken the field against him. He therefore exhorted them to submission. The brave Hofer, perceiving that it was vain to think of withstanding the host of enemies which were advancing against him, resigned the command, and desired a cessation of

hostilities; but on the 7th of November, as the Tyrolese were about to disperse, the Bavarians set fire to the village of Zirl. This barbarous act again roused the fury of the Tyrolese, who rushed once more upon the enemy, and after killing or wounding nine thousand of them, captured sixteen pieces of cannon and two chests of money.

This, however, was their last successful effort. They were surrounded near Brixen on the 9th by an overwhelming force. A tremendous conflict ensued, in which those brave patriots of both sexes and all ages, fought with the fury of despair in defence of their liberties. Three hundred women are said to have fallen, and nearly an equal number were wounded in this dreadful combat. The assailants also suffered much, but their numbers rendered them irresistible. The Tyrolese army was wholly dispersed, and their relentless enemies devastated all before them with fire and sword. The demolition of houses and confiscation of property was carried on with barbarous severity, while numbers who had distinguished themselves in the war were consigned to death by the military tribunals. The heroic Hofer concealed himself during the winter among the mountains; but he was at length betrayed by a priest, who for a bribe of two hundred Louis d'ors, led the French to his hiding place, from whence he was conducted

to Mantua, and shot by the sentence of a military tribunal. He refused to let his eyes be covered, but met death in a manner worthy of his character, rejoicing that he used his best efforts to deliver his country from the yoke a tyrant.

## CHAPTER XXI.

**Expedition to Walcheren**—The Armament arrives in the Scheldt—Capture of Ter-Vere, Ter-Goes, and Fort Bathz.—Siege of Flushing.—Dreadful effects of the Bombardment.—Surrender of the Fortress.—The further objects of the Expedition are relinquished.—Part of the Army returns to England.—A pestelential Disease commits frightful ravages amongst the Troops.—Evacuation of the Island of Walcheren.—Expedition to the Coast of Naples.—Capture of the Islands of Zante, Cephalonia, and Cerigo.—Destruction of the French Squadron in Basque Roads by Lord Gambier's Fleet,—Success obtained by Lord Celliingwood in the Mediterranean.—Capture of Martinique and the Saints.—Expedition from Jamaica to assist the Spaniards in St. Domingo.—The Portuguese, aided by Captain Yeo, expel the French from Guiana.—Conquest of Senegal.—Destruction of the French Batteries at St. Paul's in the Island of Bourbon.

**D**URING the spring and summer of this year, the British Cabinet was busily occupied in preparations for an expedition on an immense scale, the destination of which proved for a considerable time a subject of anxious solicitude, not only in England, but through a great part of Europe. There was little doubt that it was intended to operate as a diversion in favour of our continental allies, but it afterwards appeared, that it also embraced objects in which the interests of Great

Britain were more immediately concerned. In the session of parliament of the preceding year, Lord Castlereagh spoke of the port of Flushing (of which Napoleon had recently taken possession,) as a point from which the enemy could severely annoy us, and against which it was incumbent upon us to be adequately prepared. The French were at this time carrying on great naval works at Antwerp, where fifteen hundred houses had been demolished, to afford space for slips for ship-building, and ten eighty gun ships were already on the stocks. The design of this expedition was therefore to effect the destruction of the shipping, arsenals, and dock-yards at Antwerp and Flushing, to reduce the island of Walcheren, and to render the Scheldt no longer navigable for ships of war. It was also expected to have operated in favor of the cause of Austria.

The army, at the commencement of the year, was in so shattered a condition after the unfortunate campaign in Spain, that a force deemed adequate to the enterprize could not be collected before the beginning of July, and on the 15th of that month the embarkation commenced. A more formidable armament had never sailed from the British shores, the military force consisting of thirty-nine thousand men, while the naval force amounted to thirty-five sail of the line; two of fifty guns, twenty-one frigates, and one hundred and seventy-nine smaller vessels. The fleet and army were in a state of the most complete equipment;

the command of the former was vested in Admiral Sir Richard Strachan, while the Earl of Chatham was placed at the head of the land forces.\* This latter appointment excited considerable surprize, and was generally unpopular, as his Lordship,

\* *Land Forces employed on the Expedition to Walcheren, July, 1809.*

3d Dragoons.		36th Foot	1st Battalion.
9th Light do.		38th	1st do.
12th do. do.		42d	1st do.
2d do. German Legion.		43d	2d do.
1st Foot Guards, 1st Battalion.		50th	1st do.
— do. do. 3d do.		51st	
2d and 3d do. 4 Flank Companies.		52d	2d do.
1st Foot, 3d Battalion.		59th	2d do.
2d		63d	2d do.
4th	2 Battalions.	68th	
5th	1st do.	71st	1st do.
6th	1st do.	76th	
8th	2d do.	77th	
9th	1st do.	81st	2d do.
11th	2d do.	82d	1st do.
14th	2d do.	84th	2d do.
20th	2d do.	85th	
23d	2d do.	91st	1st do.
26th	2d do.	92d	1st do.
28th	1st do.	95th	2d do.
32d	1st do.	1st Light Infantry German Legion.	
35th	2d do.	2d do.	do.

The General Officers employed were Lieutenant-General the Earl of Chatham, Commander-in-Chief, Lieutenant-General Sir Eyre Coote, Second in Command.—Lieutenants-General the Earl of Rosslyn, Hon. T. Grosvenor, the Marquis of Huntly, Mackenzie Frazer, Lord Paget, Sir John Hope.—Majors-General Graham, Leith, Dyott, Picton, the Earl of Dalhousie, Sir W. Erskine, Disney, Baron Linsingen, and M'Leod.—Brigadiers General the Hon. W. Stewart, Baron Alten, Baron Rottenberg, Brown, Ackland, Montresor, Houston, and Mahon.

though known to possess both courage and good sense, was considered to be destitute of that vigour and activity so necessary to the success of an enterprise of this nature.

On the 28th and 29th of July the armament sailed from the Downs in two grand divisions, and on the morning of the 30th the whole of the ships were at anchor in the Scheldt. According to the plan of operations laid down, the left wing of the army under Sir Eyre Coote was to occupy the island of Walcheren; the Marquis of Huntley, with five thousand men, was to land upon the island of Cadsand, and cut off the communication with Flushing; General Grosvenor, with an equal force to possess himself of the isle of Schouwen, and Sir John Hope to occupy South Beveland. Various obstacles prevented the intended attack on Cadsand; but on the evening of the 30th a landing was effected on the island of Walcheren without loss, and Colonel Pack with five companies of the 71st, was immediately detached by Lieutenant General Frazer towards the town of Ter-Vere; but in an attempt to surprize the place, he was repulsed with the loss of thirty-five men. Being, however, invested on the following morning, while the gun-boats detached by Sir Home Popham kept up a vigorous bombardment, the garrison, amounting to three hundred men surrendered as prisoners of war, and thus was obtained a convenient point of debarkation for the ordnance and stores intended for the siege of Flushing.

The Commander-in-Chief fixed his head-quarters at Middleburgh, which had also capitulated.

On the 1st of August, the divisions under Lord Paget and Major General Graham advanced towards Flushing. The approach of the latter was strongly opposed by a division of the enemy, but being driven from some batteries by the Royals and the Rifle Brigade, they were compelled to retreat, and pursued with great slaughter to the walls of the town. A fire of grape-shot was now opened on the British, by which they lost near two hundred men; but the troops under Lord Paget and Brigadier General Houston having proved equally successful, and the fortress of Ramakens surrendering to General Frazer two days after, Flushing was completely invested.

In the mean time Sir John Hope's division effected a landing at the eastern extremity of South Beveland, under the superintendence of Admiral Sir R. Keates. They immediately advanced to Ter-Goes, the capital, without meeting any appearance of hostility, and the French having precipitately abandoned a place which might have held out for some time, the magistrates without reluctance surrendered the keys to the British. Fort Bathz was evacuated by the Governor Bruce, who after spiking the guns, crossed over with his garrison of six hundred men to

Bergen-op-Zoom,\* and Sir John Hope's division remained for some time inactive in South Beveland, being considered merely as a corps of observation during the siege of Flushing.

The reduction of this place was greatly retarded by the unfortunate failure of the plan against Cadsand, as the garrison received frequent reinforcements from thence. The number of troops in the town at the commencement of the siege amounted to five thousand, but they were soon increased to eight thousand, which rendered it necessary for General Grosvenor's division, who were to have landed on the isle of Schouwen, to join the besieging army. The enemy, in the mean time, were actively engaged in collecting troops at Bergen-op-Zoom and Antwerp, which with Lillo and other forts on the Scheldt, were placed in an excellent state of defence, while the strength of the batteries prevented the British from pursuing the enemy's ships up the river.

Though Flushing was by no means well fortified, or capable of resisting a regular attack, yet it was determined to reduce it by bombardment, a mode

\* A singular accident occasioned this precipitate conduct of the Governor. About thirty of the Coldstream Guards had strolled from the army, and unexpectedly formed themselves before the fort. Bruce conceived them to be a detachment from the main body, and resolved to preserve the garrison by abandoning the place. Though treachery was not imputed to him, yet for his misconduct he was degraded by the Dutch Government.

of warfare which nothing but extreme necessity can justify, being at once cruel and impolitic, involving in one common destruction the defenceless citizens and the armed enemy, and exciting the just abhorrence of the people, whose friendship it must be the interest of the assailants to conciliate. From the 1st to the 7th of August, the besieging army was employed in erecting batteries and bringing up stores; and during this period their casualties amounted to about one hundred and fifty men. On the latter day General Monnet, the Governor, planned a sortie, and General Osden, at the head of two thousand men, made an attack on the right of the line, occupied by Major-General Graham's division.\* It was principally directed against the advanced picquets, which were supported by the Royals, the 5th and 35th regiments, with detachments of the 11th, the 59th and German Legion. These brave troops received the enemy with their accustomed intrepidity, and compelled them to retire in the greatest confusion after having lost near seven hundred men, three hundred of whom were made prisoners. On the part of the British, fourteen were killed, and one hundred and forty-six wounded and missing.

The troops employed in the siege of Flushing were the 1st Royals, the 2d, 5th, 11th, 14th, 26th, 32d, 35th, 36th, 51st, 59th, 68th, 71st, 76th, 77th, 79th, 81st, 82d, 84th, 85th, 95th, and 2d battalion German Legion.

On the 8th, the battering train was brought up from Ter-Vere, which being perceived by the enemy, they bombarded the British lines with increased violence. On the 10th, Monnet opened the sluices of Flushing, but the besiegers found means to let off the water, and on the 13th, all their preparations being completed, the batteries commenced a tremendous fire against the unfortunate town. Lord Charles Stewart, at the same time, with some frigates and gun-boats forced the passage of the Scheldt, under a furious cannonade from the sea battery at Flushing and those of Cadsand.

Before the bombardment commenced, Lord Chatham requested Monnet to suffer the women and children to leave the town; but this the governor cruelly refused, absurdly saying, that he was able to defend them. The scene that ensued was dreadful in the extreme: before evening the eastern part of Flushing was in a blaze, which the continual flight of shells and rockets precluded the possibility of extinguishing. Almost every house was speedily unroofed, and at intervals, the shrieks of women and children, and the howling of terrified animals were to be heard. During the whole of the night, shells, carcasses, and rockets, continued to be thrown into the town, and soon after day-light on the 14th, the gun-batteries resumed their fire. The ships were now also able to approach, and seven sail of the line commenced a furious bombardment.

The town was at this time in flames in different directions, and by three o'clock in the afternoon, the two principal buildings, the Stadthouse and the prison had become a heap of ruins. A number of the unfortunate inhabitants perished in the vaults of the former edifice, where they had vainly hoped to find security—for even here men, women, and children were literally blown to pieces.

About four o'clock the enemy's guns being completely silenced, Lord Chatham ordered the batteries to cease, and directed Sir Eyre Coote, who conducted the siege, to summon the town. The governor required time to consult a Council of War, and an hour was allowed him for that purpose. But no answer arriving within the limited time, hostilities re-commenced. About eleven o'clock one of the enemy's batteries, advanced upon the sea-dyke, was carried at the point of the bayonet, by detachments from the 36th, 71st, and King's German Legion, under Lieutenant Colonel Pack. The 14th regiment and some Germans under Colonel Nichols, with equal gallantry, forced entrenchments opposite General Graham's position. Many of the enemy were killed or taken prisoners in these affairs.

Hitherto the fire of the besiegers having been directed against the town, the fortifications suffered little, and the unfeeling governor was deaf to all the supplications of the unfortunate inhabitants, till a breaching battery was planted by Captain Birch of the engineers in such a position as would

have laid the rampart open in a few hours, and exposed the garrison to an immediate assault. At two o'clock in the morning of the 15th, Monnet demanded a suspension of arms for forty eight hours: only two hours were granted; after which he and his garrison, amounting to near six thousand men, surrendered prisoners of war; and detachments of the Royals and 71st regiment took possession of the fortress.

This unfortunate town now presented a spectacle which called forth the deepest commiseration of the victors, and exemplified the sad effects of war in its most dreadful character.\* Two churches,

\* In the account of Walcheren, &c. published by Surgeon Hargrove, (the son of my valued friend, Doctor Hargrove of Limerick,) who was attached to the royal artillery engaged in the expedition, we find the following remarks: "On visiting the city I could not but sympathise with every feeling mind on the melancholy appearance it presented; devastation marked every house, sorrow and dismay, the countenance of every inhabitant. Who could remain, even a moment, a regardless spectator before the ruins of the Stadthouse? whose imperfect walls narrowly escaping the destructive effect of our batteries, even now displayed the original magnificence of the building, and filled the mind with melancholy reflections at the humiliating condition of this "Temple of Justice." The finest church suffered the same fate, and on the entrance of the British troops merely exhibited a vacant shell, whose summit still dropped with melting lead." "The East India House was a superb structure, situated in front of the Great Basin. This building was appropriated to the accommodation of the sick and wounded French troops after the surrender of the city, and its sumptuous apartments,

the Stadthouse, and two hundred and fifty private dwellings were totally demolished, while scarcely a house in the town escaped injury. Three hundred and thirty-five of the inhabitants of both sexes and all ages were slain. Of these ninety respectable burghers were buried in one morning. Of the garrison about nine hundred are supposed to have fallen, while seventeen hundred either deserted to the British or were taken prisoners during the siege.

On the day upon which Flushing surrendered, the islands of Schouwen and Duiveland also capitulated, and here terminated the success of this mighty armament. A great force was now collected at Antwerp to oppose the further pro-

whose walls presented one expanded sheet of pompous tapestry, descriptive of some national victory, or domestic rural beauty, were now strewn with the bodies of soldiers expiring in agony, or languishing with wounds. Curiosity induced me one day to visit this building, expecting naturally to see something worthy of observation, which was sufficiently indicated by the beauty of its exterior; however my disappointment was great, when I beheld a crowd of poor wretched Frenchmen, their wives and children indiscriminately mixed together, the latter too the victims of raging war, dying and dead, many breathing their last sigh amidst those noisome vapours uniformly attendant on rooms crowded with wounded soldiers." These remarks are the effusions of a benevolent mind, agonized by the horrors which its possessor was compelled to witness.

In an account of the expedition to Walcheren, published under the title of "Letters from Flushing," some traits of humanity are recorded, which reflect more true honour on the character of the

gress of the expedition, and twice a flotilla of the enemy opened an effectual cannonade on Fort Bathz. This place was made the chief point of rendezvous for the British fleet and army, and on the 24th Lord Chatham removed his headquarters from Middleburgh to Ter-Goes. The naval commanders had several days before expressed their readiness to co-operate in an attack upon Antwerp; but it was now too late, as Marshal Bernadotte had arrived there and adopted such plans of defence, as must have rendered the attempt abortive. Measures were in progress for

British army than even its most splendid achievements. Two hundred of the Irish Brigade had formed part of the garrison. The greater part effected their escape, and no search was made for the remainder. "It is my sincere wish," said an officer, "that these fellows may effect their escape, for if they fall into our hands, we shall be compelled, I fear, to deliver them over to the law. Considering the hardships they have suffered, that they were actually driven from their country, and compelled to enter into some service for subsistence, though we do not forgive them, yet we all pity them. There is but one wish in the army upon this point." Frequently in action, when the soldiers observed any officer of the enemy displaying more than usual activity and courage, they marked him out to spare him, saying it was a pity to shoot so fine a fellow. A British officer seeing a soldier fire at random, asked him at what he was firing, and being answered "into the enemy's line," told him to fix on his man and take aim. He continued to fire as before, and being again reprov'd, he replied resolutely, that his heart would not let him take a fixed aim at any certain man, "and it answers all the same purpose. Sir," said he, "to fire in the crowd."

laying the whole of the surrounding country under water; batteries were erected on both banks of the Scheldt, a strong boom-chain was extended across the river from Lillo to Leifkenshoeck, and arrangements were made to sink vessels in a narrow part of the channel between those forts and Antwerp. Added to these obstacles, a pestilential disease had made its appearance among the British troops, and about the middle of August, not less than three thousand were on the sick list.

Under these circumstances, the Commander-in-Chief deemed it advisable to assemble the Lieutenants Generals of his army, and in a memorial laid before them, it was stated, that all prospect of success in the ulterior objects of the expedition had vanished in consequence of the delay experienced in the siege of Flushing, which was attributed to the failure of the plan upon Cadsand. After leaving sufficient troops to protect Walcheren and Beveland, the whole disposable force would amount to little more than twenty thousand men, while the enemy had already collected above thirty-five thousand to oppose them. Other obstacles were enumerated, which were considered so completely insuperable, that the assembled Generals agreed as to the impracticability of an attack upon Antwerp, and that from any operations of a minor nature, no possible advantage could be derived.

Arrangements were now made for the evacu-

ation of every part of Zealand except the island of Walcheren, which it was determined, if possible, to retain for the purpose of shutting up the mouth of the Scheldt. Seventeen thousand men were destined for its occupation, under the command of Sir Eyre Coote. The remainder of the army departed for England on the 4th of September, and were speedily followed by the Commander-in-Chief.

That dreadful malady, which in the autumnal season generally prevails in this country of dikes and marshes, now began to commit ravages of the most terrific nature, amongst the British troops who were left for the defence of this unfortunate conquest. The exhalations from the marshes, the inundations by which the troops were surrounded, and the pestilential effluvia issuing from the bodies of the dead at the siege of Flushing, were considered the immediate causes of this horrible disease, while the total want of necessary comforts for the sick, greatly augmented the mortality that ensued. These unhappy sufferers were frequently obliged to lie in their great coats on the damp floors of churches or houses, whose roofs had been broken in by the bombardment, while hospitals for others were established in warehouses, where light and air were only admitted through iron grates. Eleven thousand men were on the sick list about the middle of September, and the guards had frequently to be relieved twice in the day, in consequence of the men falling ill, while

many a brave soldier, unwilling to yield to the dreadful malady, continued to walk about till the most deadly symptoms appeared, and in a few hours he became a corpse.\* It was not uncommon to hear of thirty or forty deaths in the short space of twenty-four hours, and it was wisely ordered that funeral processions should be dispensed with, and the dead were conveyed every morning before six o'clock, to be interred in a field about a mile outside the town of Flushing.

The British Ministry, notwithstanding this disastrous state of things, seemed desirous, if possible, to retain possession of their conquest; and the most anxious inquiries were made to

\* In the work already quoted, Surgeon Hargrove informs us, that the disease was chiefly distinguished by its disposition to sink the patient to the lowest ebb of debility and despondency, almost on its first accession. Many of the stoutest men gave themselves over on being first seized with illness, and were frequently reduced to the most infantile and pitiable weakness. In numerous instances the patients sunk so suddenly, that it was not uncommon for the physician in his morning visit to find those in the article of death, upon whose probable recovery he had congratulated himself the preceding evening. Many suffered so much from delirium, that it was frequently necessary to bind them to the bedstead. The skin was uniformly dry and parched, and the muscles, particularly those of the tongue, appeared to be completely paralysed. Some died suddenly, seeming to fall asleep; others, as if labouring with cramp and breathing with agony, while a few revived a little before their departure, became composed and sensible, and apprized the bye-standards of their approaching dissolution.

ascertain the most effectual means of counteracting this terrible malady. Medical men of the first ability were sent to Walcheren, by whom generous diet, and the use of spirits and spices were strongly recommended; and considerable attention was paid to the clothing and habits of the soldiers. But, although their efforts, under Providence, contributed materially to check the ravages of the disease, yet no less than thirteen hundred of our brave countrymen fell sacrifices to this noxious climate, and an equal number died in the hospitals in England soon after their return. Nor did the evil cease here, as some who recovered were still subjected to periodical returns of the disorder, and the subtile poison had so tainted the vital current in others, that many, even at the present day, continue to draw out a miserable existence as the sad remembrancers of the Expedition to Walcheren.

The termination of hostilities between France and Austria having rendered the retention of Flushing no longer necessary as a diversion in favour of our German allies, and the object of blockading an enemy's fleet in the Scheldt, which, if permitted to put to sea, might speedily find its way to a British port, being eventually considered an impolitic measure, it was at length resolved to abandon a conquest which had been purchased at the expense of so many valuable lives. Orders to this effect were on the 13th of November sent out to Lieutenant-General Don, who had suc-

ceeded Sir Eyre Coote in the command, and he was at the same time directed to adopt the most effectual measures to render the ports and arsenals of the island unserviceable, at least, for some time; but in accomplishing this, as little injury as possible was to be done to the inhabitants. The guns and valuable stores having been previously conveyed on board the British ships, the whole of the army embarked on the 9th of December, and on the following day the basin and dock-heads were blown up, all the works of the harbour were destroyed, and the arsenals and store-houses totally consumed. According to the statement of Sir Richard Strachan, Flushing was thus rendered useless to the enemy as a naval arsenal; and the basin which afforded a secure retreat for several ships of the line during the winter, was so completely destroyed, that it could only be restored at great labour and an immense expense.

The British army in Sicily also made a movement during the summer of this year, which it was hoped would have operated in favour of the Austrian arms in Italy. In the beginning of June, Sir John Stuart sailed with a considerable force for the coast of Naples, and succeeded in reducing the islands of Ischia and Procida with little loss. Lieutenant Colonel Smith of the 27th regiment, was detached at the same time to attack the castle of Scylla, but he failed in the attempt after losing above one hundred and twenty men, including six officers of the 21st regiment. The commandant

of the castle, however, being seized with a sudden and unaccountable panic, abandoned the post, in which was found a valuable supply of artillery and stores.

But the unfortunate issue of the contest between France and Austria, rendering these demonstrations in behalf of our ally unavailing, the troops returned to Sicily, and an expedition was undertaken soon after, which has been productive of more permanent benefit to the country. The object of this armament was to dispossess the French of the Ionian islands, and for this purpose, about two thousand men sailed from Messina on the 23d of September, under convoy of the *Warrior* of seventy-four guns, Captain Spranger. This small force was commanded by Brigadier General Oswald, and consisted of the 35th regiment and Corsican rangers, with detachments of the 44th foot and 20th light-dragoons dismounted. Complete success attended the enterprize. The islands of Zante, Cephalonia, and Ithaca, surrendered after a faint resistance, but Cerigo made a more vigorous defence. The forts of St. Nicholas and St. Jocquin were attacked on the 9th of October by the troops under Major Clarke, and the Spartan, Captain Brenton. The fire of the forts was speedily silenced, and several prisoners were taken. The conquest was completed on the 12th, by the surrender of the castle of Capsal in the Bay of Cerigo. A proclamation had been issued previous to the commencement of hostilities, by the naval

and military commanders, in which they declared that the object of the expedition was to expel their French oppressors, and re-establish a free and independent government; and on its successful termination, the British troops were received by the inhabitants with the greatest demonstrations of joy.

The British navy gathered some laurels this year, both in Europe and the West Indies, and the maritime superiority of England was maintained, whenever an opportunity was offered to the daring enterprize of our seamen. Indeed so completely was this ascendancy established since the memorable day of Trafalgar, that our ships had no chance of encountering a hostile squadron, unless they sought them in their own ports, and under the protection of their batteries. Of this nature was the signal display of British intrepidity which we are now about to notice.

About the middle of February, Lord Gambier's fleet which blockaded the harbour of Brest, was driven from its station by tempestuous weather, and a French squadron of eight sail of the line and two frigates, under Admiral Willaumez seized this opportunity of putting to sea. Lord Gambier, on returning to his station, discovered the escape of the enemy, and in pursuance of his instructions, he detached Sir John Duckworth with the greater part of his squadron, to ascertain the course which Willaumez had steered; while he made sail with his own ship, the *Caledonia*, for Caw-

sand Bay. Sir John Duckworth, supposing that the object of the French was to bring out the Spanish fleet from Ferrol, directed his course to the Mediterranean, but receiving no information of them in that quarter, he ran for Madeira, where all his expectations of meeting the enemy were frustrated.

In the mean time, Willaumez had steered for L'Orient, where he liberated a squadron under Captain Tronde, which was destined to throw succours into the French colonies in the West Indies. Putting to sea again on the 23d, the French ships were discovered by Admiral Stopford, who lay at anchor with his squadron off the Chasseron light-house: he chased them into the Pertuis d'Antioche, and immediately despatched the Naiad frigate, with the necessary information to Lord Gambier. On the same night Admiral Stopford fell in with three frigates, (part of Tronde's squadron) standing in for the Sable d'Olonne, which he gallantly attacked, though they were protected by some strong batteries, with the *Defiance*, *Amelia*, *Donegall*, and *Cæsar*, and succeeded in driving them on shore. Though this was effected in the presence of Willaumez's squadron, the latter made no attempt to succour the frigates. On the 26th, the enemy joined the Rochefort squadron at the Isle of Aix, in effecting which, *Le Jean Bart* of seventy-four guns, was grounded near Isle Madame, and totally lost. Willaumez's force consisted of eleven

sail of the line, the *Calcutta* of fifty guns, and three frigates; but though the squadron of Admiral Stopford, after having been reinforced, amounted to no more than seven sail of the line, the French deemed it hazardous to attack him.

Lord Gambier had not reached Cawsand Bay when he was joined by the *Naiad* with the agreeable intelligence that the enemy's fleet had been discovered. On the 3d of March his Lordship sailed for Basque Roads with five sail of the line, besides several frigates and smaller vessels, and on the 7th he joined Rear-admiral Stopford off Rochefort. The enemy had at this time retired to the inner or Aix road, which lies between a long sand-shoal called the Boyart and the Isle of Aix; the navigation here is very difficult from the numerous shoals, and the passage is supposed to be commanded by the batteries on the island. The enemy's ships were anchored in two lines within point blank shot of the works upon the Isle of Aix, and they had the entrance of the Charente, which was strongly defended, open to run up in case they were attacked by the fire-ships.

Lord Gambier considered that this was the only mode by which the enemy could be attacked with success, as the fleet, on approaching the Isle of Aix, would be exposed to red-hot shot. In this opinion the Admiralty coinciding, twelve transports fitted out as fire-ships, were ordered to join his Lordship, and Lord Cochrane, who had just

returned from Catalonia, volunteered his services to lead the attack.\*

Lord Cochrane speedily joined Lord Gambier's squadron, and preparations for the intended attack were immediately commenced. The French, on the other hand, were actively engaged in fortifying their position. They laid across the narrow channel a boom eight hundred toises long, composed of cables, and secured by anchors, which they imagined no fire-ships could break through; and above twenty boats and launches were on duty every night to give notice of the approach of an enemy. So satisfied, indeed, were they of their security, that a few days before the action, they dressed their ships with colours, and an English ensign was hung out under the quarter-gallery of the *Calcutta*, which had been captured from the British.

The preparations for the attack were completed in the evening of the 11th of April, and they were of the most formidable nature. The number of fire-ships was twenty-one, and in the top of each of these, fifty rockets were placed. The explosion-

\* This appointment occasioned much unpleasant feeling in the British squadron, and Admiral Harvey, who volunteered to take the direction of the enterprise, seeming to regard it as a personal injury inflicted on him by Lord Gambier, gave way to such intemperate language, that he was dismissed the service by the sentence of a Court Martial. He was, however, soon after reinstated in his rank.

ships, of which there were three, were intended to produce a still more tremendous effect. Lord Cochrane himself charged the largest of these with fifteen hundred barrels of gun-powder, which were started into puncheons fixed end upwards, and upon these were placed three or four hundred shells, and several thousand hand-grenades. The puncheons were fastened together with cables, and jammed with wedges, while moistened sand was rammed down between them, to render the whole as compact as possible. The necessary instructions were now given to the different commanders of the fire-ships, while Lord Gambier arranged the various duties to be performed by the other vessels of the fleet. Three frigates were placed near the Boyart shoal, to receive the crews of the fire-ships on their return, to assist the *Imperieuse*, which was still farther in advance, and to support the boats of the fleet, which were assembled alongside the *Cæsar*, under the command of Admiral Stopford. Three rocket-vessels were stationed near the same shoal, while the *Etna* bomb was directed to throw shells into the fort of the Isle of Aix, under the protection of the *Indefatigable* and *Foxhound*. Several sloops and gun-brigs were anchored near the island and the Boyart, with lights hoisted to guide the fire-ships, and the remaining vessels of the fleet were unmoored, to render any service that might be practicable.

When we consider that the enemy's batteries

were provided with means of firing red-hot shot, some just estimation may be formed of the perils which attended this daring enterprise, but fear is a term not to be found in the vocabulary of a British seaman. At half-past eight at night, Lord Cochrane with a lieutenant and four men, went on board the largest explosion-vessel, and immediately proceeded to the attack, followed by the other explosion-vessels and fire-ships, led on by Captain Wooldridge. Notwithstanding the heavy fire kept up from the forts, they advanced as near the enemy as possible, when Lord Cochrane putting his brave crew into the boat, kindled the fusee himself, and followed them. It was calculated that the fusee would have burnt twenty minutes; but, owing probably to the strength of the wind it continued burning only six minutes and a half, when it blew up, and the boat narrowly escaped destruction. This premature explosion caused the kindling of the fire-ships before they were in a proper situation to bear down upon the enemy; most of them ran upon the shoals where they burnt out, and one went on shore on the Isle of Aix, where her volley of rockets going in one flight into the batteries, silenced a very heavy fire. Two only of the fire ships fell on board the enemy, but the French ships got clear of them.

Although the plan of attack had failed in producing the immediate effects expected from it, yet the results were equally satisfactory, and in a way more accordant with the feelings of humanity,

than if they had been effected by the wholesale destruction of human life, which must have attended the conflagration of the enemy's vessels. Terrified by the explosion, the blazing of the fire-ships, and the flight of the rockets as the flames reached the rigging, which could be seen from Rochefort, Rochelle, and the surrounding coast, the French cut their cables, and all ran ashore except two; and a little before six on the morning of the 12th, (a day again rendered memorable in the annals of the British Navy,) Lord Cochrane made a signal to that effect, and that a part of the fleet might destroy them. Lord Gambier, however, conceived that in the state of the tide at that time no attempt of this kind could be made with safety, and he therefore thought proper to postpone the attack till the latter part of the flood. Between nine and ten he made signal to weigh, and ordered the Etna bomb to proceed as near as possible and bombard the enemy's ships, and about noon the fleet came to anchor three miles distant from the fort of Aix. A little after two, Lord Cochrane in the *Imperieuse* opened a heavy fire on the *Calcutta* and the *Varsovie*, and the former quickly struck her colours. Some other British ships had now come up to join in the attack, which was maintained under a tremendous fire from the batteries of Aix, until *La Ville de Varsovie*, *L'Aquilon*, and *Le Tonnerre*, also surrendered. Finding the prizes could

not be got off they were burned, after the prisoners had been removed from them.

Two of the French ships got up the river, one was set on fire by her own crew, and the remaining five were still on shore at the mouth of the Charante. Lord Gambier ordered Admiral Stopford, who had with him the *Cæsar* and *Theseus*, three fireships, and the boats of the fleet with Congreve rockets, to act against them in the way he saw most practicable; but the line-of-battle ships grounded, and being for some time exposed to imminent danger, Admiral Stopford perceived that nothing further could be effected except by smaller vessels; he accordingly returned on the 13th to Basque roads. Lord Cochrane still remained with the *Imperieuse* and *Pallas* frigates in the road of Aix, and when he was recalled by signal, he declared his conviction that the remainder of the enemy's ships might be destroyed. He did not join the Admiral till the following day, when he again maintained the opinion he had expressed. On the 15th he departed for England, where his services were rewarded with the Order of the Bath.

The result of this brilliant achievement was, that four French men-of-war, and three frigates were burnt, and six ships of the line and two frigates driven on shore. Of the whole squadron, only one ship of the line and two frigates escaped without injury, and all this was accomplished with the loss on the part of the victors of only ten men

killed and thirty-eight wounded. What must have been the mortification of the French, thus to behold the British flag so signally triumphant in their very harbours, and under the fire of their own batteries.\*

Considerable success also attended the efforts of the Mediterranean fleet, under Lord Collingwood. Their services had been during the summer, highly useful to the cause of the Spanish Patriots, and towards the close of October, an opportunity was afforded of adding another laurel to the trophies so gallantly won by them at Trafalgar. Lord Collingwood, expecting that the Toulon fleet

\* Lord Cochrane having declared his determination to oppose a vote of thanks to Lord Gambier, the latter demanded a Court Martial, which commenced at Portsmouth on the 26th of July, and continued for nine days. The sentence was as follows:—“That the charge, that the Right Honourable Lord Gambier, on the 12th day of April, the enemy's ships being then on shore, and the signal having been made that they could be destroyed, did for a considerable time neglect or delay taking effectual measures for destroying them,” has not been proved against the said Admiral Lord Gambier, but that his Lordship's conduct on that occasion as well as his general conduct and proceeding, as Commander-in-Chief of the Channel Fleet, employed in Basque Roads, between the 17th day of March and the 26th day of April, 1809, was marked by zeal, judgment, ability, and an anxious attention to the welfare of his Majesty's service, and do therefore adjudge him to be most honourably acquitted accordingly.”

In returning his sword, the President, (Sir Roger Curtis) addressed Lord Gambier in terms highly honourable to his Lordship's character.

would make an attempt to relieve Barcelona, took his station off St. Sebastians. On the 22d, he received information that a squadron consisting of three ships of the line, four frigates and a convoy of sixteen sail had put to sea. On the following day they hove in sight, when Rear-Admiral Martin with eight of the best sailing ships was ordered to give chase. The Pomona frigate was directed at the same time to attack the convoy, and she succeeded the same evening in burning five of them. Rear-Admiral Martin kept up the chase with persevering diligence until the 25th, when he drove on shore near Frontegnan, the Robuste of eighty-four guns, bearing Admiral Bordaine's flag, and the Leon of seventy-four, which were set on fire by the enemy. The other ship of the line (the Borée) and a frigate ran on shore at the entrance of the port of Cette. No lives were lost at either side, as scarcely a shot was fired. But the destruction of the convoy proved a more difficult business, as they had taken shelter in the bay of Rosas. Thither Lord Collingwood detached a squadron under Captain Hallowell with orders to bring them out if the wind permitted, otherwise to destroy them. They found the convoy moored under the protection of the castle, Fort Trinidad, and several new batteries, which the French had erected. Four of the enemy's ships were armed, and one of them enclosed in boarding nettings, with a gun-boat a-head. Notwithstanding this formidable appearance of oppo-

sition, the boats of the British squadron pushed forward under the command of Lieutenant Tailour. The netted vessel was speedily boarded, and captured after a stout resistance, in spite of the guns from the castle and batteries, and a heavy fire of musketry from the shore; and the whole convoy, consisting of eleven ships was burnt or brought off. In this gallant action Lord Viscount Balgonie, the Hon. J. A. Maud, and the Hon. W. Waldegrave, had each the command of a boat. The loss of the victors was very severe, amounting to fifteen killed and fifty-five wounded.

Very vigorous operations were carried on this year against the French colonies in the West Indies. The enemy had for some time expected an attack on the Island of Martinique, and some of their vessels had succeeded in eluding our cruizers, and throwing in supplies. An expedition consisting of about ten thousand land troops,\* under the command of Lieutenant General Sir George Beckwith, had been for some time assembled at Barbadoes for the purpose of undertaking the conquest of the island, which the disposition of the inhabitants and their sufferings from want of provisions, gave reason to suppose would prove no very difficult task. The naval

\* The expedition was composed of the 7th, 8th, 13th, 15th, 23d, 25th, 60th, 63d, 64th, 70th, and 90th regiments of Foot, the York Chasseurs, and some black regiments.

force, under the command of Rear-Admiral Cochrane, consisted of six sail of the line and twelve frigates, and the whole armament sailed from Carlisle bay in two divisions on the 28th of January.

Major-General Maitland's division effected a landing at Saint Luc, on the 30th, under the direction of Captain Fahie of the *Belleisle*; while that commanded by Major-General Sir George Prevost disembarked, on the same day, at Bay Robert, the landing being protected by Captain Beaver of the *Acasta*. Sir George Beckwith immediately advanced against Fort Bourbon, and after defeating the enemy in several slight actions, gained the heights of Sourier, which commanded the place. The enemy immediately abandoned the lower fort, after they had spiked the guns and blown up the magazines; and on the 2d of February General Maitland's division effected a junction with the besieging army.

In the mean time the town of St. Pierre, though strongly fortified, and containing above twenty thousand inhabitants, surrendered to a small detachment of two hundred British troops; and Brigadier-Generals Sir Charles Shipley and Stahelin compelled the fort of Pigeon Island to capitulate, after a sharp bombardment, the seamen having through extraordinary exertion planted several cannon and howitzers on a commanding height.

The whole island was now in possession of the British, with the exception of Fort Bourbon, upon

which a fire was opened on the 5th, from four batteries on the western side, while their own guns were turned upon them from Fort Edward. After a short but spirited resistance, the French were driven from their guns; but more difficulties were encountered in the attack of the eastern side, as the rains and heavy roads greatly increased the labour of dragging cannon and mortars to the top of Mount Sourier. This, however, was at length accomplished by the persevering exertions of the seamen and marines of the York and Intrepid, and on the 22d several batteries were ready to open their fire. The enemy now proposed terms of capitulation which were considered inadmissible, and on the 23d a furious cannonade was commenced from the batteries, and continued all night. The effect was of the most decisive nature, as the enemy were driven from their guns, their cannon dismounted, and on the morning of the 24th one of the magazines in the fort blew up. Hostilities immediately ceased, and the garrison surrendered prisoners of war, on condition that they should be sent to France, and there exchanged rank for rank;\* but on account of the high estimation in which the British Commander held the Captain-General Villaret Joyeuse, he and

\* After the arrival of the French troops from Martinique in Quiberon Bay, Bonaparte refused the exchange, and they were brought to England, and added to the number of their unfortunate countrymen, already pining there in a state of almost hopeless captivity.

his aides-de-camp were sent home free from any restriction. This important conquest was effected in less than a month, with the loss of about four hundred men killed and wounded. The vigour and perseverance with which the different operations were carried on, amidst incessant rains, was considered highly honourable to the officers both by sea and land, and the brave men under their command.

Soon after the surrender of Martinique, Sir George Beckwith detached General Maitland with a division of between three and four thousand men to attack the Saints, three small islands of great strength, which are so situated with respect to each other, as to form a secure and spacious port. In this harbour a French squadron of three ships of the line and two frigates had taken refuge, and were blockaded by Sir Alexander Cochrane. On the 14th of April, Captain Beaver of the *Acasta*, who had the direction of the naval operations connected with the army, led the ships in through a very narrow channel, and landed the troops on a stony beach in the bay of Bois Joly; but they found the enemy in possession of the height of Mount Russel, which it was necessary for them to gain before they could advance. The attempt was one of the most perilous description, as the mountain is above eight hundred feet high, exceedingly steep, and covered with bushes; yet it was most gallantly scaled by two companies of

rifle men supported by a body of granadiers and light infantry, and the French were driven from their formidable position with considerable loss. Still new obstacles opposed the advance of the British, as they had in their front three of the enemy's forts and the squadron in the harbour, while their left was flanked by the fort on the islet of Cabrit. They immediately formed the resolution of opening their fire on the squadron, and having landed two howitzers, they quickly erected a battery, and commenced such a cannonade on the French ships, that they were soon compelled to put to sea. As the port had three passages, Admiral Cochrane found it impossible to guard them all effectually with five sail, and this, with the darkness of the night, proved favourable to the escape of the greater part of the enemy's squadron. Sir Alexander Cochrane, however, crossed near the sternmost, and made signal to Captain Fahie in the Pompee to cripple her without bringing on the collected fire of three line-of-battle ships, which were then in line-a-breast. Accompanied by the Latona and Castor frigates and the Recruit sloop, Captain Fahie continued the pursuit until four o'clock on the morning of the 16th, when he brought the enemy's ship to action, and compelled her to strike after a brave defence of an hour and a quarter. She proved to be the D'Hautpoult of seventy-four guns and six hundred and eighty men. Both ships were complete wrecks, and the loss of men was very great; that

of the French amounting to near ninety, while the British had ten killed and thirty-six wounded. The troops, after encountering a determined opposition from the enemy on shore, compelled them ultimately to surrender to the number of seven or eight hundred men. The conquest was effected with the loss of sixty-eight men killed and wounded, and proved highly important in securing our commerce from the French privateers.

An expedition was also fitted out at Jamaica to assist the Spaniards in regaining possession of the city of Domingo from the French. By the peace of 1795 the Spanish part of St. Domingo was ceded to France, but so averse were the inhabitants to this change of masters, that a third of the population abandoned their houses and estates, and removed to Cuba, Porto Rico, or the Main. They even carried with them the bones of Columbus, which were re-interred with all suitable solemnity at the Havannah. The blacks, however, being in possession of the other part of the island, the French troops did not obtain possession of the cession which had been made to them so long before, till after the Peace of Amiens. They soon manifested a desire to break the spirit of the inhabitants by every species of insult and injury. The struggle for independence in the mother country at length roused the Spaniards of Hispaniola to take up arms for the recovery of their liberty, and Christophe, the black President of Hayti,

having entered into an alliance with them, they obtained considerable supplies from that quarter. Being joined by some hundreds of their countrymen, who had left the island rather than submit to the French yoke, the patriots under Don Juan Sanchez Ramirez, encamped on the 7th of November, 1808, within twelve leagues of the capital. Ferraud, the Governor, marched against them at the head of six hundred troops, but he had reason to repent of his temerity, for he was so completely routed that not more than twenty of his men escaped; and rather than fall into the hands of his pursuers, he blew out his own brains. The Patriots now blockaded the city, as they had neither artillery nor engineers to besiege it. The blockade was kept up till the summer of the following year, during which time the sufferings of the inhabitants, augmented by the cruel policy of the Governor Barquier, were extreme. Horse, mule, and ass-flesh was sold at a dollar a pound, all the cats and dogs in the town were consumed, and even hides were purchased as an article of food at an exorbitant price. The blockading force also suffered considerably from sickness and want of necessaries, yet they determined to persevere until they could obtain succours from their allies, the English.

In the early part of the blockade, Captain Dashwood with a few ships dispossessed the enemy of the bay of Samana, one of the most commanding stations in the whole island; and soon after a

blockading squadron under Captain Pryce Cumby, appeared before the city. Some arms and ammunition were supplied by the British; but these proved inadequate to bring the contest to a successful issue, until the arrival of Brigadier-General Carmichael from Jamaica with twelve hundred men. He landed at Palenque, thirty miles from Domingo, on the 28th of June; the works were reconnoitered on the following day, and on the 30th all communication between the city and Fort Jeronimo was cut off, and General Carmichael established his head-quarters at the church of St. Carlos, within musket shot of the place. Barquier now began to be apprehensive of danger, and demanded a suspension of hostilities; in reply to this the British General summoned the enemy to capitulate, but Barquier, by various methods, endeavoured to elude the terms which the besiegers required. At length preparations being made for an assault, the French Governor thought proper to submit, and the city was surrendered on condition that the garrison should be sent to France, but to be considered prisoners of war.

The Spaniards manifested the strongest sense of gratitude for the opportune assistance thus afforded them, in the recovery of their long lost capital. King George III. was prayed for in all the churches, and a treaty was signed between the English and Spanish Generals, by which all vessels trading under the British flag were allowed equal

commercial privileges with Spanish subjects in all their ports in Hispaniola.

The French were also expelled from the territory in South America, which they had extorted from Portugal at the Peace of Amiens. The British Captain Yeo, with the *Confiance* and some smaller vessels, having taken on board five hundred and fifty Portuguese troops under Lieutenant-Colonel Marquez, proceeded at the close of the preceding year against the French territories in Guiana. After obtaining possession of the districts of Oyapok and Aproak, Captain Yeo, on the 6th of January, with two hundred and fifty men, attacked Fort Diamant and Grand Cane at the entrance of the Mahuri, carried them with a trifling loss, and having thus obtained the command of the river, the remainder of the troops were landed. He now attacked and carried two other forts higher up the river. On the 7th, Victor Hugues, the Governor, advanced at the head of a thousand men against a battery manned by Portuguese: but by the opportune arrival of Captain Yeo with a reinforcement, the enemy was repulsed and driven back to Cayenne, after an action of three hours continuance. The allies pursued, and having obtained possession of the house of the Governor, which was defended as an out-post, they arrived before Cayenne on the 9th, and summoned the town. A capitulation was speedily agreed upon, and the once celebrated Victor Hugues terminated his political career, by

surrendering the last remaining possession of the French on the American Continent. Four hundred regular troops laid down their arms, besides which the enemy possessed a force of eight hundred militia and blacks. Thirty-three of the allies were killed or wounded in accomplishing this enterprize. During the operations the *Topaze* frigate of forty-eight guns arrived in the offing with stores and a reinforcement for the garrison. But the skilful manœuvres of the *Confiance* having driven her from the coast, she fell in with three British ships off Basseterre, and after a smart action, surrendered.

The island of Senegal, the only settlement of the French on the coast of Africa was wrested from them in the summer of this year. Though a sterile unhealthy spot, its situation possessed great commercial advantages. It was the principal market for that horrible traffic the Slave Trade, and from it the French exported annually 1,500,000lbs. of gum. Privateers fitted out here, having considerably annoyed the British trade, Major Maxwell, the commander at Goree, resolved on attacking the place; and having embarked about one hundred and sixty men of the garrison of Goree, on board some light vessels, under convoy of the *Solebay* frigate, Captain Columbine, and the *Tygress* brig, he reached the entrance of the river on the 7th of July. A moving bank of sand is the chief defence of the settlement of St. Louis, and in attempting the passage through a tremendous surf,

a schooner went on shore, and a sloop laden with provisions and stores was lost. However, the detachment, with sixty marines from the ships, effected a landing, and took up a position on the left bank.

The French were apparently resolved to make a determined resistance, and to this end they formed a strong line of defence at Babaque with several ships moored in front; and as a further protection they threw a strong boom across the river. An attack made upon the British on the 9th of July being repulsed, the frigate and Derwent sloop were directed to bombard the port of Babaque, and on the 12th, preparations were made for a united attack on the enemy's line of defence. But this was happily prevented by the French commander offering to capitulate; and the garrison, consisting of one hundred and sixty men, laid down their arms on condition of being sent to France, but they were not to serve against Great Britain or her allies until regularly exchanged.

Lord Minto, the Governor General of India, had for some time, conceived the project of clearing the Indian Ocean of the enemies of Britain, and during this year the plan was successfully commenced by an expedition which sailed from Madras under the command of Admiral Bertie and Lieutenant-Colonel Keating, for an attack on the Island of Bourbon. The land forces consisted of the 1st battalion of the 56th regiment, with some Sepoys, and on the 23d of September,

at five A. M. they landed to the southward of Point de Galotté, seven miles from St. Paul's. The great object of the British was to cross the causeways that extend over the lake, before the enemy could discover their disembarkation; and this was effected with so much celerity and caution, that at seven o'clock they were in possession of the batteries Lambousiere and La Centiere. Captain Imlack was now ordered with one hundred and forty men to seize the battery of Neuf, which had been deserted by the enemy; but on his way he fell in with the entire French force strongly posted with eight brass field pieces on their flanks. They were charged by the British with great gallantry, but they maintained their post, till Captain Hanmor of the 56th, and Captain Forbes, with the reserve, joined in the attack, when the enemy, after a spirited resistance, gave way, leaving their artillery in the hands of the assailants. No further opposition was made, and by half-past eight o'clock, the British obtained possession of the town, batteries, magazines, one hundred and twenty-five pieces of cannon and all the public stores, with a number of prisoners. The shipping in the harbour surrendered on the same day to the British squadron, and the entire of the batteries being destroyed, the whole of the troops were re-embarked before eight o'clock the same evening. This service, which was only pre-

liminary to the more important events in this quarter of the subsequent year, was accomplished with the loss on the part of the British, of about one hundred men killed and wounded.

## CHAPTER XXII.

**The Peninsular War.—King Joseph re-enters Madrid with great Pomp.—Severe Measures adopted by the Intrusive Government.—Increased Energy of the Spaniards.—Treaty between Great Britain and the Spanish Nation.—Surrender of Ferrol and a Spanish Squadron to the Enemy.—Traitorous Attempt on Cadiz frustrated.—The Central Junta endeavours to inspire the People with firmness.—Second Siege and Surrender of Saragossa.—The Heroic Palafox is sent to France.—Honors conferred upon that City by the Junta.—Hostilities in various Provinces.—Progress of Marshal Victor against the Spanish Army of the Centre.—General Venegas is defeated at Ucles.—Victor advances through La Mancha into Estremadura, to attack Cuesta's Army.—Battle of Medellin, and Defeat of Cuesta.—Sebastiani defeats the Spaniards near Ciudad Real.—Cuesta is appointed Captain-General, and is speedily enabled again to take the Field.—The Junta declines receiving British Troops into Cadiz.—Advance of Marshal Soult to the Re-conquest of Portugal.—Patriotic Energy of the Portuguese.—The progress of the Enemy is considerably checked by the vigorous conduct of Sir Robert Wilson and General Silveira.—Soult enters Portugal and advances to Oporto.—The dissensions of the Inhabitants occasion the Surrender of the City.—Horrible cruelties committed by the French at Oporto.—The communication between Soult and Ney is cut off by the activity of the Portuguese and the Gallician Peasantry, who capture Vigo.—The Marquis de Romana takes Villa Franca.—Soult affects to adopt conciliatory proceedings.**

**W**HEN Bonaparte had taken his departure from Spain after the retreat of Sir John Moore, he left a numerous army to secure a conquest, which was then considered as decidedly accomplished. The corps of Victor and Lefebvre, amounting to about fifty thousand men, kept the capital in awe, and under their auspices addresses were speedily procured for recalling King Joseph to the direction of the government. On the 22d of January, he re-entered, amid the discharge of a hundred cannon, a city, from which the indignation of the people, when unrestrained, had driven him a short time since. He moved in grand procession to the Church of St. Isidro, where he was received by the Bishops and Clergy with an adulatory address. In his reply the intrusive King affected to say, that in mounting the throne of Spain, he was led by his duty and conscience, and not by his private inclinations. That the terms on which he accepted the crown, were the unity of the Holy Roman Catholic Religion, the independence of the Monarchy, the integrity of its territory, and the liberty of its citizens; he hoped that the crown would not be disgraced upon his head, and that through him all Spaniards would be happy. After the celebration of High Mass, Joseph proceeded in royal state to the palace, and for three days and nights every external symbol of rejoicing was manifested. On the following day,

two decrees were issued of a very opposite tendency, the one denouncing death against all who should enter into the service of the Grand Junta; the other calling on the Bishops of the realm to offer up thanks to the Almighty, for the success which had crowned the arms of the Emperor Napoleon, and implore Heaven that the spirit of peace and wisdom might rest upon the new government, and cause it to abjure every sentiment but such as the interests of the Monarchy should inspire. The flagitious outrages which followed, and the severe laws imposed to keep the people in subjection, were convincing evidences that these prayers were ineffectual, for neither the spirit of wisdom nor of peace seemed to actuate the proceedings of the usurper. The finances were in a most disorganized state, commercial credit was destroyed, the ferocious tyranny of the army was encouraged by the Court, and a cruel decree against the adherents of the Junta had caused a retaliatory edict from the Council of Seville, which threatened to produce scenes of the most sanguinary nature.

It soon appeared that the invaders had only subdued that part of Spain which their armies covered; and though the native troops had been dispersed, and their allies forced by circumstances to a temporary abandonment of their cause, yet the spirit of the great mass of the people remained unconquered, and they resolved to assert the independence of their country, or

perish in the contest. The masterly retreat of Sir John Moore, attended as it had been with disastrous consequences to numbers of our brave soldiers, was productive of results of considerable benefit to the common cause; for while Bonaparte with intense eagerness pressed the pursuit of the British army, the southern provinces had time to rally their forces, and repair in some measure the losses sustained by Blake and Castanos. La Mancha and part of Estremadura, which had been occupied by the French, were re-conquered: the armies of Palafox, Cuesta, and the Duke del Infantado, were re-organized; and what tended chiefly to revive the drooping spirits of the people, was the determination of the Court of London still to support the cause of Spanish independence. A treaty to this effect was signed on the 14th of January, between Great Britain and the Spanish Nation acting in the name of Ferdinand, by which his Britannic Majesty engaged to continue to assist the Spaniards in their struggle to the utmost of his power—and to acknowledge no other King of Spain but Ferdinand and his lawful successors—while the Spanish Government pledged itself never to cede to France any portion of the territories or possessions of the Spanish monarchy in any part of the world. It was at the same time agreed that mutual facilities should be afforded to the commerce of both countries, and that the Spaniards should adopt effectual measures for preventing the squadrons in

their different ports from falling into the hands of the French.

To obtain possession of the Spanish ports and ships was a leading object of the enemy. After securing the possession of Corunna, a division under General Mermet invested Ferrol, and the treachery of the Spanish commander delivered into his hands eight ships of the line, three frigates, and several smaller vessels. The strength of Cadiz left little hope of obtaining possession of that port but by similar means, and the traitor, Morla, was employed to corrupt, if possible, the Governor Virues. A letter was intercepted, in which the former endeavoured to persuade Virues that the same necessity which had forced himself to surrender the capital, and thus preserve the lives of the inhabitants, now called on him to follow his example; and he sought at the same time by the most artful insinuations to inspire him with suspicions of the designs of the British, who, he said, if they got possession of Cadiz, would make it an English garrison. Though the Governor's integrity was not, in the slightest degree, suspected, yet it was deemed adviseable, under existing circumstances, that he should resign the command, which was conferred on Don Felix Jones, an officer who had acted with great skill and valour during the operations which terminated in the capture of Dupont's army. Every means was now adopted to place Cadiz in such a state of defence as should frustrate all the

attempts of the enemy. The Junta which had taken up its residence in Seville, where their venerable President Count Florida Blanca died in his eighty-first year, issued a proclamation on the 1st of January, in which they exhorted the nation, notwithstanding the disasters which had occurred, still to cherish hope, and retain their courage and firmness. They at the same time, sent deputies from their own body to accelerate the formation of new armies. They called to their aid the ceremonies of religion to excite the feelings of the people. High Mass was celebrated in the presence of the Junta, at which the relics of St. Fernando were displayed, and his intercession was implored to procure deliverance for the Spanish nation.

In the north-east of Spain Saragossa was at this time sustaining all the horrors of a second siege. After his defeat at Tudela, the brave Palafox returned to this devoted city to make the necessary preparations for resisting the new dangers with which it was menaced. All the French within its walls were sent to distant places of confinement, as a necessary precaution against treachery on their parts, and at the same time to preserve them from the rage of the Spaniards. The old men, women, and children were ordered to quit the city within three days, and measures were adopted for their support in other places; while various regulations were proposed as necessary to penetrate the object of their invaders. But

before these plans could be carried into execution, the French under Marshal Moncey sat down once more before the walls of Saragossa.

The enemy were driven on the 1st of December from some posts of which they had obtained possession, and the operations were languidly pressed until the arrival of several mortars, howitzers, and instruments for mining under Generals Dedon and Lacoste. In the mean time the inhabitants of both sexes and every age were employed in strengthening the fortifications, while the troops of Arragon occupied the heights, particularly that of the Torrero, which commanded the city at the distance of a mile. This post with two others was attacked and carried by the French on the 20th of December; but in an assault on the suburb of the Arrabal, on the same day, Marshal Mortier was repulsed by the gallant Palafox with the loss of four thousand men.

The French now inundated the country opposite the Arrabal, to prevent the Patriots from making sorties. Moncey at the same time informed Palafox, that Madrid had surrendered, and that the English were flying to Corunna, and he called on the Captain-General, by a timely capitulation, to save Saragossa from inevitable destruction. To this the heroic chief replied, that if Madrid had fallen, it must have been betrayed; and if so, it was but a single town. The people of Saragossa were not to be intimidated by the

intelligence; it had been already tried and proved that they could endure the horrors of a siege; *to conquer or die* was the language of the very women and children in Saragossa.

The French now perceiving that their object could only be accomplished by a regular investment of the city, began to construct batteries, and at the beginning of January, Junot took the command of the French army, which amounted to about sixty thousand men. On the 10th, the bombardment began, and the principal fire was directed against the head-quarters of the General. A malignant disease being superadded to the other calamities of this devoted city, the superior strength of the besiegers enabled them to gain possession of the Monastery of St. Joseph and the Bridge de la Huerba. Don Francisco, the brother of Palafox, left Saragossa about the same time to organize the neighbouring peasantry, and his activity was such that the enemy soon became distressed for want of provisions.

Soon after this, Marshal Lannes assumed the command of the besieging army, while St. Cyr and Suchet covered the siege with two divisions. Lannes received orders to proceed with vigour, and having entered the Plaza, fresh works were raised, and a tremendous fire of shot and shells was opened upon the town. At the same time a subterraneous war was carried on by the French sappers and miners, by whom houses were blown up into the air from their very foundations.

The Spaniards opposed these operations by countermines, and every day numbers at both sides were suffocated by this horrible species of warfare. Still the brave inhabitants resolved to defend the place of their birth from street to street, from house to house, and from room to room. The bombardment which continued forty-two days, kept the city in twilight darkness, horribly illumined at intervals by the fire issuing from the mouths of the cannon and mortars, while the bombs (of which seventeen thousand were thrown into the town during the siege,) scattered destruction on every side. Yet while writhing in the agonies of death, even the women and children were scarcely heard to utter a sigh, and the priests were frequently seen while advancing to meet the foe, to drop their musket or sabre, and administer to the dying the last rites of their religion. Before the end of January, two thirds of the town were in ruins, and its stock of ammunition was so exhausted, that its heroic defenders had no gun-powder but what they manufactured day by day, and no other cannon balls than those which the besiegers fired into the town.

On the 30th, sixty houses were blown up, and the French gained possession of the monasteries of Las Monicas and the Augustines. A dreadful carnage accompanied this assault, every inch of ground in the church having been defended by the monks, until the pavement of the sacred

edifice streamed with blood. Shattered by repeated bombs, the roof gave way in the midst of the conflict, and fell with a tremendous crash upon the combatants; yet such was the fury of the few survivors, that after recovering from the shock caused by this disaster, they renewed the contest with sanguinary ferocity in the midst of the ruins, and over the lifeless bodies of their fallen comrades. The French army suffered a heavy loss by the death of the celebrated General Lacoste, commander of artillery, who was killed about this period.

But the ravages of that dreadful pestilence which raged among the population of this devoted city, proved the most powerful auxiliary to the besiegers, by daily thinning the ranks of its heroic defenders. This was the natural consequence of the indescribable sufferings which they had endured for so long a time, while they were constantly exposed to the inclemency of the season, and scantily supplied with food. The horrors by which they were on every side enveloped were sufficient to appal the firmest minds. By day a sulphureous atmosphere concealed the face of Heaven: by night the fire from the artillery and the flames of burning houses produced a terrific illumination. Neither were the wretched inhabitants permitted to take that rest so necessary to recruit their exhausted strength, their slumbers being every moment broken by the thunders of the bombardment or the explosion of

the mines. Above thirty hospitals were established for the reception of the sick, and as one of these was destroyed by the fire of the enemy, the patients were removed to another quarter of the city, and by this means the contagion spread to every part of Saragossa.

At the beginning of February, the hope of a successful defence began to fail, and Palafox himself having been seized with the contagion, some representations were made to Don Pedro Maria Ric, upon whom the command had devolved, pointing out the necessity of capitulating; but this brave man continued the defence seventeen days longer, and on the 19th he assembled the Junta to hear the opinions of the different chiefs. From their statements it appeared that there remained only two thousand eight hundred and twenty two of the infantry fit for service, and that of the horses all had died of hunger except sixty-two—that the fortifications were demolished, and neither men nor materials left to repair them—and that should the enemy make a general attack, the loss of the city was inevitable, and would be followed by every imaginable horror. The result of the deliberations was, that twenty-six of the members voted for a capitulation, and eight, among whom was Ric, against it, urging that they might yet be succoured. The opinion of the minority, however, prevailed, and they resolved to go no farther than to apply for a suspension of hostilities for three days until they should ascertain

the situation of the Spanish armies. Lannes treated this message as an insult, though in his summons he had proposed a similar plan himself, and he only replied by a shower of bombs. On the same evening the enemy gained possession of the Tanneries, and some other important posts, but being driven back from the Convent of Saint Sepulcro, Ric seized the favourable moment to rouse the nearly extinguished spirit of the inhabitants. The public crier went round the city to proclaim this success by sound of trumpet.— But the effort proved fruitless, for disease had subdued a people hitherto invincible; thirty thousand of the inhabitants had already perished, the few survivors were in attendance on their sick and dying friends, three or four hundred of whom were the daily victims of the pestilence. Besides these more than five hundred officers and thirty thousand soldiers, the flower of the Spanish armies, were entombed in the ruins, and two-thirds of the city was demolished. Under these circumstances, the Junta declared, that they had fulfilled their oaths; for *Saragossa was destroyed*, and a flag of truce was despatched, requesting a suspension of hostilities for twenty-four hours to negotiate a capitulation. Marshal Lannes refused to listen to any terms unless the Junta waited upon him within two hours. Don Pedro Ric, with a deputation, immediately proceeded to the French head-quarters, where he was received by Marshal Lannes with affected indifference. The French

Commander-in-Chief reproached the Junta and the inhabitants for the resistance they had made, declaring that they deserved little consideration at his hands. Ric replied with noble firmness, that he did not know the will of the people, but that he believed they would accept a capitulation becoming the heroism with which Saragossa had defended itself. Struck with the manliness of this declaration, Lannes forbore further insult. He said that the women and children should be safe, and that the negociation was concluded. To this Ric answered, that it was not yet begun, for this would be surrendering at discretion, and Saragossa had no such intention. If the Marshal insisted on this, he might renew his attacks, "and I, and my companions," said the brave Arragonese, "will return to the city, and defend ourselves, we have yet arms and ammunition and daggers: war is never without precariousness, and if we are driven to despair, it yet remains to be seen who are to be victorious." After some farther conference, a capitulation was agreed to, by which the garrison of Saragossa were to surrender prisoners, with the honors of war, and the French Marshal pledged his honor that their brave commander Palafox might go where he pleased. General Laval was appointed governor, and the victorious troops entering the city the same evening, a pillage immediately commenced. Though the French accounts boasted that seventeen thousand men laid down their arms, not

more than two thousand four hundred were found in the place capable of service; the remainder were in the hospitals. Lannes made his public entry on Sunday the 5th of March, under a discharge of two hundred cannon, and repaired to the church of the Pillar, where an adulatory discourse was delivered by the suffragan bishop of the diocese, who had joined the invaders of his country at the commencement of the siege. A splendid entertainment followed, and to these rejoicings succeeded extensive contributions which were extorted from this devastated city. At the period of the capitulation, the gallant Palafox was ill of a fever on the brain, from which it was expected that he could not recover; but when he became in some degree convalescent, he was hurried a prisoner into France, in spite of the pledge which Lannes had given, that he should be at liberty to go where he pleased.

Thus fell Saragossa, after two sieges, few parallels for which are to be found in history. The survivors might have said to their enemies as the brave garrison of Fort St. Philip in Minorca did to the Duke de Crillon, when laying down their arms: 'We surrender them to God, and not to the force which has surrounded us. Disease has deprived us of the power of resistance.' Horrible as war must ever appear even in its mildest forms, or when accompanied by circumstances of the purest patriotism and self-devotedness, yet when the salvation of the

country requires the sacrifice of a portion of her children, and when we see the whole population of a city voluntarily offering themselves on the national altar, every other feeling is absorbed in admiration of a heroism so pure and so disinterested. In no other light can we view the conduct of the gallant Palafox and the brave inhabitants of Saragossa. Though the city fell, the sacrifice was productive of the most important consequences to the general cause of Spain. The detention of so large a portion of the French army for several months from the pursuit of other objects, and the destruction of thousands of its bravest soldiers before these feeble ramparts, afforded the Spaniards in other quarters an opportunity to re-organize their scattered forces, while the sufferings and heroic example of the Saragossans inspired them with fresh resolutions of opposing to the last their cruel oppressors. The Junta expressed their sense of the services rendered to the nation by the garrison and inhabitants in a decree, which ensured to Palafox the reward of his heroism, whenever he should be set at liberty. Every officer and soldier was raised a step in rank; pensions were settled on the widows and orphans of all who perished; Saragossa was exempted from contributions for ten years after the peace, when all the public edifices should be rebuilt at the expense of the state, and a monument erected in the square of the city, as a perpetual memorial of the valour of the inhabitants

and their glorious defence.\* “Time passes away,” said the Junta, “and days will come when these dreadful convulsions, with which the genius of iniquity is now afflicting the earth, will have subsided. The friends of virtue and of patriotism will come to the banks of the Ebro, to visit those majestic ruins, and beholding them with admiration and with envy, ‘Here,’ they will say, ‘stood that city which in modern ages realized, or, more truly, surpassed those ancient prodigies of devotedness and constancy, which are scarcely credited in history! Without a regiment, without other defence than a weak wall, without other resources than its courage, it first dared to provoke the fury of the tyrant; twice it withstood the force of his victorious legions. The subjugation of this open

\* During this, as in the former memorable siege, the instances of female heroism were extremely numerous. Women of the most elegant manners, and of the highest orders in society, formed themselves into corps to carry refreshments, to hear away the wounded, and frequently, accompanied by their children, to join their husbands and fathers in opposing the common enemy. At the commencement of the second siege the celebrated Augustina resumed her station at the Portello, and was frequently seen, armed with a knife or sabre, in the midst of death and desolation, animating the troops. An illustrious lady, named Burita, who headed one of the corps, died of a broken heart, after learning that her daughter had been shot. According to Sir John Carr, who had his information from Colonel Don M. Malaguilla, one of the heroes of Saragossa, not less than six hundred women and children perished by the bullet and bayonet during the second siege.

and defenceless town cost France more blood, more tears, more slaughter, than the conquest of whole kingdoms; nor was it French valour that subdued it; a deadly and general pestilence prostrated the strength of its defenders, and the enemy, when they entered, triumphed over a few sick and dying men; but they did not subdue citizens, nor conquer soldiers."

Hostilities were carried on at this time in various quarters of the Peninsula, and though the French armies had overrun Navarre and Arragon, Biscay, Asturias, the Castiles, Leon, and Gallicia, they had not subdued them. General Reding was collecting an army in Catalonia, the Duke del Infantado was re-forming the army of the centre, and was directed to advance on Ocana and Aranjuez. The army of Estremadura under his conduct had gained some advantages over the French, and on the 28th of January, they obtained possession of the bridge of Almaraz, and drove the enemy to Talavera. The gallant Romana, at the same time, carried on a desultory species of warfare, in the mountains of Gallicia, in which he was so well seconded by the brave inhabitants, that it was attended with most destructive consequences to the invaders. To detail these various operations would be both difficult and uninteresting; we will therefore, for the present, confine ourselves to the proceedings of Marshal Victor,

whose operations were directed against the Army of the Centre.\*

On the 10th of January, Victor marched from Toledo, at the head of the first corps, to attack the army of the Duke del Infantado, which was beginning to advance on the capital. On the 13th they came up with the Spanish advanced-guard, consisting of about twelve thousand men, under Venegas, at Ucles.† The Spaniards at first displayed some vigour, but being chiefly composed of raw recruits, their position was speedily turned, and two thousand prisoners, with forty pieces of cannon, fell into the hands of the French. When the Duke del Infantado heard of this disaster, he made such a disposition of his remaining force, that Victor did not think it prudent to hazard a second attack. The Spanish General, however, judged it advisable a few days after to retire into Valencia. The prisoners taken at Ucles were marched to Madrid, and such of them as through fatigue were unable to proceed, were shot without mercy, in conformity with orders not less cruel than impolitic, which had been issued by the intrusive government. It produced, indeed,

\* In this detail we have taken as our principal guide, the impartial and interesting Memoir of M. de Rocca, a French officer of hussars in Victor's army.

† According to the Spanish accounts the French committed the most horrible excesses in this place

the effect of preventing the Spanish peasants from joining the regular army, but the result was, that a war of ambuscades took place of open battles, and thus were the French deprived of those advantages which their superiority in tactics would have given them.

Victor's corps now entered La Mancha, the country of Don Quixotte, where they took up their quarters for nearly a month, his further operations being impeded by the active exertions of the Duke d'Albuquerque. The gaiety of the French soldiers, and their frequent witticisms upon the Knight of the Rueful Countenance and his Dulcinea, became a bond of union between them and the inhabitants of Toboso, by whom they were generally well treated. But about the middle of February they quitted this friendly country, and proceeded to occupy Talavera, Arzobispo, and Almaraz, on the right bank of the Tagus, in presence of the Spanish army of Estremadura.

Victor fixed his head-quarters at Almaraz, where he found the principal arches of the bridge blown up, and the country abandoned by the inhabitants. The provisions which they were unable to carry away, were walled up, jars of wine were frequently found buried in the earth, and the soldiers had to pass whole weeks without bread, or barley for their horses. Rafts were finished for the passage of the troops on the 14th of March, but before they could be launched, it

was deemed necessary to drive the Spaniards from their position opposite Almarez, at the confluence of the Tagus and Ibor. The Spaniards defended the post for some time, but being in the sequel forced to abandon it, they joined the main body of Cuesta's army at Miravete.

The French being now enabled to cross the Tagus, assembled on the 20th at Truxillo, where Cuesta's magazines fell into their hands. The two armies passed the night in sight of each other; but on the morning of the following day the Spaniards retreated, and the French pursued. Their ardour was checked by the destruction of one hundred and fifty men of the 10th horse-chasseurs, which fell into an ambuscade at Mias Casas. Victor soon after concentrated his forces at Merida and its neighbourhood, and on the 28th he proceeded to the plains of Medellin, where Cuesta, being joined by the Duke d'Albuquerque, had arrived to give him battle.

The Spanish line, about thirty-four thousand strong, formed a kind of crescent, their left at Mingabril, their centre opposite Don Benito, and their right wing near the Guadiana. Victor's army formed an arc of a very narrow circle at a little distance from Medellin, and is represented by some accounts to have amounted to twenty-three thousand men, though by others it is said not to have exceeded half that number. His right and left were composed of cavalry under Generals Lasalle and Latour Maubourg, and the

centre of German infantry. The divisions of Vilatte and Ruffin were in reserve. The French infantry were formed by large close columns, and in front were six batteries. While the Spanish infantry carried the first battery with fixed bayonets, a charge of the Germans, supported by two French regiments of dragoons, was repulsed with loss. But Marshal Victor renewed the fight by bringing up two regiments of Vilatte's division. The Spanish cavalry having failed in breaking the right wing, attacked the left, but not charging at full gallop, according to orders, they were thrown into confusion, which communicating itself to the rest of the army, a general route ensued. Seven thousand Spaniards are stated to have fallen in the battle of Medellin, and thirty pieces of cannon with several thousand prisoners fell into the hands of the invaders. The loss of the French is represented by their own writers to have amounted to about four thousand, a number which sufficiently proves the obstinacy with which the battle was contested.\*

\* M. Rocca's description of the field of battle presents a terrific but faithful picture of the horrible effects of this greatest of all natural evils. "A part of our regiment," he says, "was left at Mingabril, near the place where the engagement had been hottest. We lived in the midst of the dead, and we hourly saw the dark thick vapours rise, which, impelled forward by the winds, spread pestilence and infection in the surrounding country. The oxen of La Merta, who had come as usual to winter on the banks of the Guadiana, fled with horror from their accustomed pastures.

Sebastiani, who was stationed in La Mancha with twenty thousand men, gained a victory over the Spanish forces opposed to him near Ciudad Real, on the day preceding the battle of Medellin, in which the French accounts stated that three thousand of their opponents were slain, and six thousand taken prisoners, with eighteen pieces of artillery. The armies of Victor and Sebastiani now formed a line at the foot of the Sierra Morena, and it was expected that they would have penetrated into Andalusia, every road to which was at that time open to them. But the firmness of the Spanish Junta frustrated these hopes. Instead of being discouraged at the recent disasters, they declared that Cuesta and his army had deserved well of their country, and while they conferred upon that commander, whose patriotism was undoubted, the important post of Captain General, all who conducted themselves well in the action received the same recompense as if they had been victorious. Three Generals were dismissed on

Their melancholy howlings, and the long howls of the dogs who kept them, indicated the vague instinct of terror which agitated them.

"Thousands of enormous vultures had assembled from every part of Spain, over that vast and silent field of death: placed on heights, and seen from a distance against the horizon, they appeared as large as men. Our videttes often marched towards them to reconnoitre, mistaking them for enemies. They never left their human prey on our approach, till we were within a few paces of them, and then the flapping of their enormous wings echoed far and wide over our heads like a funeral knell.

suspicion of treason, and censures were pronounced on those soldiers who behaved ill in the presence of the enemy.

The good effects of this fortitude became speedily apparent. The gallant Duke de Albuquerque defeated a division of Victor's army, which had pushed on towards Badajoz with the loss of nine hundred men, and in less than a fortnight Cuesta was as formidable as before the battle. He pushed his advanced-guard to Almendralejo, and occupied with a force of thirty thousand men the passes of the mountains in front of the enemy. Victor's corps now remained for some time quartered between the Tagus and the Guadiana, while that of Sebastiani advanced no farther into La Mancha than Santa Cruz de la Mudella.

The occupation of Cadiz by British troops had been for a considerable time a favourite object of the English government, as the only means of ultimately preserving it from falling under the power of the French. A discussion on this subject was carried on for some time between the Spanish Junta and Mr. Frere, the British Ambassador, during which two thousand men under Général Mackenzie actually arrived in the bay of Cadiz; but the Junta appear to have been at this time influenced by the not uncommon opinion then prevalent in Spain, that Great Britain had ulterior objects in view of a selfish nature, and they declared that as Cadiz was not threatened, the

admission of English troops there might compromise the Supreme Junta with the whole of the nation. They at the same time expressed their full conviction of the good faith of the British government, and of the advantage that would result to Spain from the admission of British troops into Cadiz; but their own existence as a government depended upon popular opinion, and the English ambassador could not be ignorant of the numerous and active enemies who were endeavouring to undermine them. The British government were, on the other hand, averse to compliance with the proposal of the Junta, for sending small detachments of their troops to be annexed to the different Spanish armies, and to act under Spanish generals, and they determined rather to direct their attention for the present to the protection of Portugal, by augmenting their force in that country; and which, should circumstances require it, might also be rendered serviceable to the patriotic cause in the other portion of the Peninsula.

After the embarkation of Sir John Moore's army, the corps of Marshal Ney was stationed in Galicia, to keep down the spirit of its brave inhabitants, while that of Soult was destined to attempt the re-conquest of Portugal. The British army in that country, which was commanded by Sir John Craddock, did not, at this period, amount to more than fourteen thousand men; while the Portuguese, from want of serviceable arms and equip-

ments, could scarcely bring ten thousand into the field. Had Soult advanced rapidly to Lisbon in the beginning of February, he would have met few obstructions to his progress, for so unprepared was the country for resistance, that the British commander had made every preparation for embarking his troops. Boasting proclamations preceded the march of the French General, in which it was announced that he would reach Oporto by the 20th of February, and Lisbon by the 28th. The Portuguese Regency published an address to the people, remarkable for its wisdom and firmness, by which a spirit of patriotic enthusiasm was so universally diffused, that every street and square of the capital was crowded with volunteers, practising their evolutions with fowling-pieces, pikes, and halberds; bullets were piled up at the corners of the streets, and rusty weapons of all kinds were now brought from their hiding-places to answer the general demand for arms. Early in March Major-General Beresford took the command of the Portuguese army, with the rank of Field-Marshal.

Soult marched towards Portugal by San Jago, Vigo, and Tuy, but the opposition which he met from the people of Galicia, and the vigorous conduct of Sir Robert Wilson, who was on the frontiers with the Lusitanian Legion,\* considerably

\* Sir Robert Wilson raised this corps, consisting of two thousand men, at Oporto, and though in existence but a few months, it had already rendered signal services to the country.

checked his progress. At length, on the 6th of March, he crossed the Minho at Orense, entered the province of Tras os Montes, and after defeating the Marquis de Romana on the heights of Orsuna, he invested Chaves, which surrendered by capitulation, General Silveira, who commanded there, having retreated to Villa Pouca. General Bernardine Freire, the Governor-General of the northern provinces, had assembled a vast number of the peasantry, and a few regular troops in the province of Entre Douro e Minho, for the purpose of covering Oporto, but on the approach of the French he retreated to Braga, suffering the enemy to advance unmolested through the strongest and most defensible part of the country, which excited universal alarm. The peasantry from all quarters flocked into the town, and demanded to be led against the invaders, while entangled in the passes of the mountains. Freire returned an evasive answer, which excited a suspicion of treason, and a clamour having been raised at the same moment, that ammunition had been refused to those who had fire-arms, the populace became outrageous, and rushing into his house in spite of the resistance of his guards, they murdered him and his aid-de-camp. The Baron d'Eben, an officer in British pay, and who was at the head of a battalion of the Lusitanian Legion, succeeded to the command, and the people insisting that he should lead them against the enemy, he advanced to the defile of Carvalho

d'Este, a strong position a few leagues from Braga, where for three days he resisted repeated efforts of Soult to dislodge him ; but the peasantry at length giving way, the Baron made an orderly retreat to Oporto. General Silveira, in the mean time, had returned to the frontiers, and retaken Chaves, after defeating its garrison of thirteen hundred men, the greater part of whom were killed or captured. He afterwards harassed the rear of the enemy till they reached Oporto, and then took post at the bridge of Amarante, a strong position on the Tamega.

Dreadful agitations prevailed in Oporto as the French approached ; all traitors were denounced, and on the 21st the infuriated populace broke open the prison, and put Oliviera their former governor, and fourteen of his partisans who were confined there, to death. The town was ill-prepared for defence. Some badly constructed batteries had been thrown up at different points, upon which two hundred and seventy pieces of cannon were mounted ; but the line was so extensive that sixty thousand men would have been necessary for its defence. Soult appeared before the city on the 26th, and reconnoitred the defences. In attacks on the two following days he was repulsed ; but the divisions which prevailed in the place, and the little confidence which the people reposed in their leaders, opened the way for his ultimate success, and on the 29th, the enemy forced a passage into Oporto. The death of a French officer who had

been sent to summon the town, was now made the pretext for a scene of murder and pillage almost without parallel in the peninsular war. Numbers of the inhabitants, without distinction of sex or age, were bayoneted by their barbarous conquerors, and their bodies lay exposed in the streets for three days. A number still greater perished in the Douro, when flying from their merciless pursuers, the bridge of boats having given way over which they had to pass.

Marshal Soult, however, was not long permitted to triumph in his sanguinary success, as through the exertions of the patriots both in Galicia and Portugal, his communication with Ney was completely cut off, and these two corps became entirely insulated. On the 10th of March, some Portuguese peasants crossed the Minho, and being joined by some Gallicians, the whole force, amounting to four thousand men, laid siege to the French garrison in Vigo, aided by Captain M'Kinley of the British navy, and Don Pablo Murillo, who took the command of the siege. The garrison, consisting of thirteen hundred men, was compelled to surrender on the 27th of March to this motley army, consisting of soldiers, sailors, students of Salamanca, and men of all ranks and professions. Tuy was recovered soon afterwards; and the Marquis de la Romana descending from the mountains of Puebla de Sanabria with the remnant of his army, proceeded to Ponferrada, where he took

some prisoners, and recovered the artillery which he had lost. Having remounted a twelve-pounder, he crossed the route of Castile, and with this single gun obtained possession of Villa Franca, its garrison of eight hundred men surrendering prisoners of war. The Bierzo was now cleared of the French, who fell back upon Lugo, where they resolved to make a stand, supported by the garrisons of Ferrol, Santiago, and Corunna.

Soult, during his residence at Oporto, used all possible means to induce the inhabitants to submit to the new order of things. He published a proclamation, in which he ridiculed all idea of resisting the will of his august sovereign, the Emperor, in whose name he offered them security for themselves, their property, and their religion. Accompanied by his staff, he visited with great semblance of devotion the church of our Lord of Boucas, in the little town of Matosinhos, and prostrated himself before the celebrated image which it contains. He lamented the injury which the church had sustained by the plunder of its plate and jewels, and as some atonement, he promised the rector that he would himself offer to Nosso Senhor two large silver candlesticks, with silver lamps, and assign funds to keep them burning night and day. It was intimated that the French Marshal looked forward to the possession of the crown of Portugal, as the reward of his conquest of that country; and some disaffected

Portuguese seized this opportunity of contrasting the piety of Marshal Soult with the stories which had been circulated of the irreligion of the French and their leaders. But whatever may have been the motives of his conduct, the Marshal was speedily aroused from his reveries of ambition or devotion, by the approach of an enemy of a more formidable description than any whom he had yet encountered.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

**Second Expedition to Portugal under Sir Arthur Wellesley.—**

Arrival of the British Forces at Lisbon.—Soult obtains possession of the Bridge of Amarante.—General Mackenzie takes post at Abrantes to watch the motions of Victor.—Sir A. Wellesley marches against Oporto.—Action at Grijon.—Brilliant Passage of the Douro.—Soult is driven from Oporto.—Marshal Beresford re-captures Amarante and Chaves.—Soult, after a rapid flight, evacuates Portugal.—Brave Defence of Alcantara by Colonel Mayne.—Successes of the Spanish Patriots in Galicia.—Horrible Cruelties committed by both Parties.—Progress of the war in the North-eastern Provinces.—Failure of a plan for surprising Barcelona, and death of General Reding.—Blake is repulsed at Saragossa, and defeated at Belchite.—The Miquelets.—Proceedings of King Joseph.—Sir Arthur Wellesley advances into Spain, and forms a junction with General Cuesta.—Marshal Victor takes up a position on the Alberche, near Talavera de la Reyna.—Sir A. Wellesley proposes to attack the enemy, but Cuesta refuses to co-operate.—Victor retires to Santa Olalla, and forms a junction with the Guards under Joseph Bonaparte.—He repulses the advanced-guard of Cuesta's army, and resolves to attack the Allies.—Battle of Talavera, and Defeat of the French.—Sir A. Wellesley is elevated to the Peerage by the title of Viscount Wellington.—Critical situation of the Allies after the Victory.—Lord Wellington is menaced with an attack from the united forces of Soult, Ney, and Mortier.—He resolves to return to Portugal.—Gallant but unsuccessful Defence of the Puerto de Banos by Sir Robert Wilson.—Proceedings of General Venegas.—Battle of Almonacid.—The Marquis Wellesley arrives at Cadiz, as Ambassador from the

British Court, and endeavours to invigorate the Spanish Councils.—Cuesta resigns the Command of the Spanish Army.—Brief View of the state of Spain at this juncture.—The Duke del Parque repulses the enemy at Tamames.—Rash and imbecile conduct of the Spanish Government.—The Command of the Army is entrusted to Ariezaga, who is ordered to advance upon Madrid.—Battles of Ocana and Alba de Tormes, and Defeat of the Spaniards.—Siege and Surrender of Gerona, after an heroic Defence.—Gallant Exploits of Don Henrique O'Donnell.—The Supreme Junta publishes a Proclamation announcing the Convocation of the Cortes.

**T**HE British ministry, far from being dismayed by the disastrous results of the first peninsular campaign, wisely resolved to send out another army as soon as circumstances would permit. Sir Arthur Wellesley having resigned his post of Secretary for Ireland, was appointed to the command: Marshal Beresford had, previous to this time, made considerable progress in reducing the Portuguese army to a state of discipline, and inspiring them with that confidence in their leaders and themselves, so necessary to success in a contest with so powerful an enemy.

Six thousand British troops, under the command of Major-general Hill, landed at Lisbon, on the 4th of April; and these were followed, on the 22d, by Sir Arthur Wellesley himself, with further reinforcements. His arrival excited the most enthusiastic rejoicings throughout the country, and he was immediately appointed Marshal General of the Portuguese army. Soult was at this time engaged in daily attacks on Silveira's position at the bridge

of Amarante. They were as often repulsed; but at length, on the 2d of May, Silveira was compelled by overwhelming numbers to abandon the post, and thus a retreat was opened for the enemy through Tras os Montes.

The position of Victor, at this period, threatened both Seville and Lisbon; it became, therefore, necessary to secure the Portuguese capital, by stationing a considerable force at Abrantes,\* while the Commander-in-Chief was engaged in driving Soult out of the kingdom. Sir Arthur Wellesley took the command of the combined army at Coimbra on the 2nd of May, and on the 7th they commenced their march for Oporto, the infantry being formed in three divisions. Two of these, consisting of the Hanoverian Legion, and four brigades of British infantry, under the command of Lieutenants-General Paget and Sherbrooke, with the cavalry under Lieutenant-General Payne, moved by the high road from Coimbra, while the third, composed of two brigades of infantry, under Major-General Hill, marched by Aveiro. Major-General Beresford, with six thousand Portuguese and about two thousand British, had been previously detached towards Vizeu, to act upon the enemy's left, while Colonel Trant, the governor of Coimbra, was posted with the troops under his command on the right bank of the Vouga.

\* This force consisted of a brigade and two battalions of infantry, two regiments of dragoons, and seven thousand Portuguese, all under the command of Major-General Mackenzie.

The cavalry and advanced-guard crossed this river on the 10th, with the intention of surprizing four regiments of French cavalry, with a battalion of foot and artillery, at Albergaria Nova; but though the object of the enterprize was not attained, yet the superiority of the British cavalry was fully manifested, the enemy being driven from the field with the loss of all their cannon and a considerable number of men. The advanced-guard took up a position at Oliviera on the same night, while Major-General Hill embarking his division at Aveiro, sailed up the northern creek of that harbour, and landed at Ovar in the rear of the enemy's right. On the 11th the French advanced-guard, consisting of four thousand foot and some squadrons of cavalry, were observed to be strongly posted on the heights above Grijon. An attack was instantly ordered and successfully executed, Major-General Murray with a Hanoverian brigade turning their left flank, while the 16th Portuguese infantry attacked the right. Major Way, at the same time, with the flank companies of the 29th, 43d, and 52d regiments, penetrating the woods and villages, assailed the centre of the enemy. In consequence of these judicious movements, they were quickly compelled to give way, and the pursuit of some squadrons of the 16th and 20th light dragoons, led on by Brigadier-General Charles Stewart, completed the rout. The French retreated across the Douro

on the same night, after which they destroyed the bridge.

It had become highly important to the operations of Major-General Beresford's division, that the Douro should be crossed immediately by the British forces, and this was effected with a degree of skill and promptitude which have justly entitled it to rank with the most brilliant achievements of the war. The troops had marched eighty miles in little more than three days, in very hot weather, and through roads excessively bad. The current of the river was extremely rapid, and no means of passage left but by such small boats as the enthusiasm of the Portuguese supplied; the ground on the opposite bank was in possession of the enemy, and protected by the fire of cannon placed on the height of the Sierra Convent at Villa Nova. Yet, notwithstanding these appalling obstacles, Sir Arthur Wellesley resolved to effect the passage, and the attempt was crowned with the most brilliant success.

Major-General Murray, with a battalion of Hanoverians, a squadron of cavalry, and two six-pounders, crossed the river at Oviatas four miles above Oporto, while boats were collected for the remainder of the army immediately above the city and Villa Nova. Soult, who was prepared for their reception on the opposite bank, made no attempt to impede the embarkation; but as soon as the 3d regiment (the Buffs) had landed and taken up their position under Lieutenant-General Paget,

he attacked them in great force. General Paget having lost his arm at the commencement of the action, the command devolved on Major-General Hill, and the regiment gallantly maintained its ground until it was successively supported by the 48th, 66th, and a Portuguese battalion. For a considerable time these brave troops repelled every attack of the French, until at length Major-General Murray appearing on their left flank, on his march from Ovinas, and Lieutenant-General Sherbrooke at the same moment advancing on the right with the brigade of Guards and the 29th regiment, the enemy fled in the utmost confusion to Amarante, leaving behind them five pieces of cannon and three hundred prisoners. A squadron of the 14th light dragoons suffered severely in a charge on a French battalion, yet they gallantly persevered till they penetrated the battalion, and put it to the rout. The Portuguese emulated the bravery of the British in the action, and the conduct of the corps of students raised by Colonel Trant was particularly distinguished.

The loss of the British in these several actions amounted to only two hundred and twenty-three men killed and wounded. The fighting continued for three hours in the suburbs of Oporto, where the streets were strewed with dead bodies, and the enemy left behind them seven hundred of their sick and wounded, fifty-nine pieces of cannon, and a great quantity of ammunition.

The intention of Marshal Soult was to retreat by the bridge of Amarante, through Villa Real and Braganza, which would enable him to effect a junction with Victor; but Marshal Beresford pushed forward with such celerity, that he compelled the French posts at Villa Real and Mezamfrio to fall back, and regained possession of the important post of Amarante. He then marched upon Chaves, despatching Silveira at the same time to occupy the passes of Rinvaes and Melgaco: but Soult, aware of his danger, eluded it by the rapidity of his flight, and by abandoning every thing. All the baggage was lost, the soldiers even throwing away their knapsacks, which were heavily laden with plunder. The most horrible excesses were committed by them in their progress, and their line of march could be traced by the smoke of burning villages, which they had set on fire, and other marks of barbarous hostility. A dreadful vengeance was taken by the natives on all the stragglers, who were generally put to death before the British advanced-guard could come up. Sir Arthur Wellesley continued the pursuit as far as Montalegre, where he halted, finding that the enemy had gone through the mountains to Orense, by roads impracticable for carriages, after abandoning all his artillery and equipments, and losing a third of his army\* since he was attacked upon the Vouga.

Sir Arthur Wellesley having thus, for the second time, driven the French out of Portugal, moved his army to the southward, and took up his quarters at Lisbon, in order to make those arrangements which were necessary for giving effectual support to the proceedings of the Spanish Patriots. The corps of Marshal Victor, consisting of twenty-five thousand men, had remained inactive for a considerable period, in Spanish Estremadura, on the eastern frontier of Portugal. To watch the movements of this army Major-General Mackenzie had been stationed at Abrantes, with about eight thousand English and Portuguese, having in advance the corps of Sir Robert Wilson, consisting of eighteen hundred men and six pieces of cannon, then under the command of Colonel Mayne. This small force was attacked on the 12th of May, near Alcantara, by eleven thousand men and six pieces of cannon, detached from Victor's army, but, notwithstanding the vast disparity of force, Colonel Mayne bravely defended his post for nine hours, and afterwards effected his retreat to Lodoeiro, without the loss of a single gun, though he suffered considerably in killed and wounded. The French advanced as far as Castello-Branco, but on learning the disasters which had befallen Soult, they retraced their steps. On the 10th of June, they again attacked Colonel Mayne's post in considerable force, but the centre arch of the bridge of Alcantara being blown up by order of Marshal Beresford, the enemy retired

to Brozas, and Victor soon after broke up his cantonments and retreated to Talavera de la Reyna, closely followed by the army of Cuesta.

The efforts of the Spanish Patriots in Asturias, Biscay, and Gallicia, had been during this period, very generally crowned with success. Romana, after surprizing Villa Franca, marched into Asturias, where he dissolved the imbecile Junta of Oviedo, and replaced it by men animated by the most active zeal and firmest patriotism. Ney pursued Romana to Oviedo with a force of twelve thousand men, but the Marquis with the excellent Bishop of St. Andero fortunately escaped to Gijon, where they got on ship-board. The triumph of the French, however, was but transient, as they were defeated in several partial actions by the Asturian troops, under Generals Worster and Ballasteros, and at length compelled to return to Gallicia, where news of fresh reverses awaited them.

General Mahy, who held the command of Romana's army *pro tempore*, having advanced rapidly on Lugo, defeated the enemy in that quarter on the 18th of May, and drove them within the walls of the town. Carrara and Murillo marched about the same time against Santiago de Compostella, and obtained possession of the city after defeating the garrison in the plains of Estrella. Ney, on receiving intelligence of these events, formed a project for re-capturing

Vigo, and then by effecting a junction with Soult's army at Orense, to hem in and effect the destruction of Romana. With these intentions he marched at the head of eight thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse upon Santiago, from whence Carrara, at his approach, retreated to Caldas and Pontevedra. The Count de Noronha, no less celebrated for his literary talents than his patriotism, was second in command, and a favourable position for covering Vigo was taken up at a bridge near St. Payo, two arches of which had been broken down. Captain M. Kinley and Colonel Carroll, were at the same time busily engaged in making preparations for the defence of Vigo, but these were rendered unnecessary by the gallantry of the Patriots, who, though inferior in number, and consisting chiefly of recruits half-armed, repelled every attempt of the enemy to cross the river, with great slaughter, and they were finally compelled to retreat to Santiago, whither Carrara pursued them, and destroyed five hundred of their army.

Ney's plan of co-operation with Soult being thus completely frustrated, he resolved to abandon Galicia, and retreat into Castile. He accordingly evacuated Ferrol and Corunna on the 21st and 22d of June, after spiking the guns and destroying the magazines of every kind. These places were quickly occupied by the Patriots aided by the marines and seamen of the British ships, and the Central Junta took immediate measures for re-

moving the Ferrol fleet to Cadiz.—At Corunna, the gallant Romana manifested his esteem for the British nation, by causing a monument to be erected with this inscription:—"Grateful Spain to the glory of the English General Moore and his valiant countrymen." Ney, in the mean time, pursued his retreat by Lugo, Villa Franca, and Astorgas, while Soult, whose communication with Madrid had been cut off for five months, retired to Zamora, leaving behind him near a thousand of his sick and wounded.

During these hostilities the most dreadful barbarities were committed on both sides. The atrocities of the French were amply repaid by the cruelties of the peasantry, and scenes little known in the annals of civilized warfare were unhappily of too frequent occurrence. Thirty monks and forty-nine of the principal inhabitants are stated to have been hanged by the French at Lourizon, in return for which the Spaniards put to death one hundred and thirty of the prisoners taken in the action of St. Payo. The commanders of the Patriots frequently remonstrated with the French Generals on the horrible excesses committed by their troops, uttering threats of taking ample vengeance on them, and in one instance they carried the principle of retaliation into dreadful effect, by throwing seven hundred French prisoners into the Miño.

The troops of Napoleon, victorious over the first military states of Europe, had never before

encountered such an enemy as the hardy peasantry of Gallicia, infuriated as they were by the oppressions of the enemy, and the unprincipled invasion of their country. Whether advancing or retreating, whether victorious or vanquished, they were equally assailed by clouds of armed mountaineers, who never came to close action, but kept up a continued fire, even while flying from position to position, and from rock to rock. It sometimes required entire battalions to carry an order to a distant post. Every straggler from the French columns was murdered. Every victory produced only a new conflict. Victories, indeed, had become useless, by the persevering and invincible character of the Spaniards; and the French armies were consumed not only by battles, but by continual fatigues and anxieties.

Some events of an important character had also occurred in the north-east of Spain, since the fall of Saragossa. A daring attempt of the gallant General Reding to surprize Barcelona, was frustrated by the treachery of some of his own officers. After this he took up a line of posts from Martorell to Tarragona; but on the 16th of February, St. Cyr fell with superior forces on his left, and compelled it to fall back on Igualada. Reding now determined to collect the whole of his troops in Tarragona, and he had assembled about ten thousand men, when the French entered Vals to cut off his retreat. The Spaniards marched from Montblanch during the night of the 24th, and having

passed by Vals, they were assailed on the following morning by a volley of musketry within pistol shot. This threw them into momentary confusion, but order was speedily restored, and they drove back several French columns which had descended from the height of Vals to attack them. Reding then concentrated his forces, and continued his retreat. St. Cyr having received fresh reinforcements, pursued, and again attacked the Spaniards at three points. On the left he proved successful, and after a conflict of eleven hours continuance, the Patriots were compelled to fly; the greater part, however, reached Tarragona that night. The greatest loss which the Spanish cause had sustained in this action, was that of the brave, the patriotic Theodore Reding. He received five wounds, which proved mortal, and he soon after closed his honourable life at Tarragona. His aide-camp, Mr. Reed, an Englishman, was wounded and taken prisoner, while bravely exerting himself to cover the retreat of his disabled general.

General Blake succeeded Reding in the command of the patriotic army in this quarter—a task of no common difficulty at a period when the enemy, far superior both in numbers and discipline, were in possession of the principal fortresses. Yet notwithstanding these disadvantages, the activity of the General, and the bravery of his troops, prevented the enemy for several months from accomplishing any important object: but on the 15th of June he was repulsed with considerable loss in an attempt

to surprize Saragossa. He was soon after attacked by Suchet in the neighbourhood of Belchite. For two successive days he withstood the efforts of the French; but on the 3d a sudden panic seized his troops—regiment after regiment fled without firing a shot, and left their general attended only by a few officers. Three thousand prisoners and nine pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the enemy upon this occasion. There were strong grounds to suppose that this fatal result was the effect of treachery, as the conquerors did not amount to a third of the vanquished. In this province, as in Gallicia, the French found their most formidable adversaries to be irregular troops. In Catalonia these were denominated Miquelets, a term which had been originally used in the wars between the Moors and Christians. In latter years it was applied to bands of smugglers, with whom Catalonia particularly abounded. Having now taken up arms in defence of their national independence, their previous habits and intimate knowledge of the country particularly fitted them for a species of warfare which proved most destructive to the enemy. The citizens and peasantry who formed themselves into irregular companies were known by the same designation, and instead of a term of reproach, it now became one of honourable distinction.

While these events occurred in the distant provinces, King Joseph continued at Madrid, using various arts to attach the people to his government. He is said to have lavished with an unsparing hand

titles and decorations, with places of trust and profit in the most distant parts of the kingdom, at a time when he dared not sleep even a few miles from Madrid, at one of his country houses. To please the people, he made offerings to the churches, and marched on foot at the head of processions through the streets of the capital, making the officers of his staff and the soldiers of his body-guard follow him with lighted tapers in their hands. But these measures, from whatever motive they may have proceeded, entirely failed of the effect expected from them, and it soon appeared that Joseph possessed neither political or military talents adequate to the critical situation of his affairs, or the accomplishment of those projects which his ambitious brother had devised. The distance from the capital at which military operations had been hitherto carried on, permitted him to indulge his natural habits of indolence, and the love of pleasure, but events were now about to occur which forced him to the adoption of measures of greater energy.

Previous to the departure of Marshal Victor from the Portuguese frontier, Sir Arthur Wellesley formed a plan of cutting off his retreat by a movement through Castello Branco and Plasencia to the bridge of Almaraz. But this project not coinciding with the opinion of General Cuesta, it was concerted that the two armies should unite at Badajoz. This was, however, rendered unnecessary by the retreat of Victor, and it was agreed

that the British should advance, according to the original proposition, by way of Plasencia. The Spanish army at this time consisted of thirty-eight thousand men, fourteen thousand of whom, under the Duke d'Albuquerque, were stationed at the bridge of Arzibispo, while the main-body occupied the pass of Miravete, three miles from Almaraz. The army of La Mancha, amounting to above seventeen thousand men, was under Venegas, subject to Cuesta's orders. As it was on this side the French were most vulnerable, Mr. Frere, the British Ambassador, expressed a strong desire that the command of this force should be conferred on the Duke d'Albuquerque, whose military talents, enterprize, and patriotism had been so frequently conspicuous; but the intractable disposition of Cuesta, or perhaps his jealousy of the Duke's popularity, led him to reject this advice, a measure which has been considered the primary cause of the ultimate failure of the campaign, notwithstanding the flattering prospects with which it had commenced.

Early in July the whole of the British army, which amounted to twenty thousand men, was concentrated at Plasencia, having the corps of Sir Robert Wilson, about three thousand, in advance. On the 10th Sir Arthur Wellesley proceeded to Almaraz, to confer with the Spanish General. The corps of Marshal Victor having taken up a position upon the Alberche, near Talavera, Sir Arthur Wellesley stated his opinion

that he ought to be immediately attacked by the united force of the allies, and that a corps of ten thousand men should be detached to Avila to turn his right. Cuesta approved of this plan, provided the detachment was composed of British troops ; but Sir Arthur replied, that he could not spare such a number from his small army, as, to prove effective they should act in a body. Cuesta, however, continued deaf to every remonstrance, and refused to make any larger detachment from his army than two battalions of infantry and a few cavalry to join Sir Robert Wilson, who was directed to march upon Escalona, and threaten Madrid from that side. Venegas, with the army of La Mancha, was directed at the same time to break up from Madrilejos, to cross the Tagus at Fuente Duernas, and advance to Arganda, within a few hours march of the capital.

On the 20th the British and Spanish grand armies formed a junction at Oropesa, and on the 22d they marched for Talavera, the Spaniards in front. The rear-guard of the French was found drawn up in order of battle, about a league from the town. They commenced an action with the Spaniards, but being speedily turned by two British brigades, under Generals Mackenzie and Anson, while the Duke d'Albuquerque attacked them in front, they retreated, and took up a position behind the Alberche, a league beyond Talavera. Sir Arthur Wellesley had a critical

escape upon this occasion, a three-pound shot having been fired at him with so good an aim that it cut a bough from a tree close to his head.

The combined armies passed the night in the vineyards and olive-yards between the town and the enemy's position. Sir Arthur Wellesley determined to bring Victor to action on the following morning, before he should be joined by the expected reinforcements under Joseph Bonaparte, who had left Madrid with nine thousand of his guards and General Sebastiani; but as the troops were on the point of marching, Cuesta, for reasons which have never been fully explained, insisted upon delaying the attack till the following day. Victor, profiting by the opportunity thus afforded him, retired to St. Ollalla, and from thence to Torrejos, where he effected that junction which more promptitude on the part of the Spanish General might have prevented.

Cuesta was astonished at this intelligence, which also proved particularly painful to Sir Arthur Wellesley, as for want of means of transport, he had it not in his power to pursue the enemy. On this subject he had previously made many unavailing remonstrances, and now absolute necessity compelled him to halt. But he considered his engagement with the Spanish General as completely fulfilled, the removal of Victor from the Alberche having opened the communication with the army of La Mancha under

Venegas. Cuesta could not deny the propriety of the resolution which Sir Arthur Wellesley had formed: but with an imprudence only equalled by his former irresolution, he determined on commencing a pursuit with his own army alone, hoping that good fortune would put him in possession of Madrid, which now seemed within his reach. The British Commander, at the same time, moved two divisions of infantry and a brigade of cavalry under General Sherbrooke across the Alberche to Cassalegas to preserve his communications with Cuesta and Sir Robert Wilson.

The troops under Joseph Bonaparte and Sebastiani joined Victor near Toledo on the 25th. Their united force amounted to forty-eight thousand men; and after leaving three thousand men for the protection of Toledo, they advanced on Torrejos. On the 26th they drove in Cuesta's out-posts, and General Zayas advancing with the Spanish van-guard, was repulsed with considerable loss, the dragoon regiment of Villa Viciosa being cut to pieces at the pass of Alcaban. Zayas, however, maintained his ground, till he was supported by the brave Albuquerque, who charged the enemy with such effect, that the van was enabled to form again, and fall back in good order. Albuquerque would have followed up his success, had he not been peremptorily ordered to retreat by Cuesta; his gallant conduct, however, saved the whole army, which was in the utmost

confusion, from inevitable ruin, and they returned to the Alberche unmolested, and again formed their junction with the British.

The French were now enabled to bring their entire force against the allies, Venegas having, in consequence of counter-orders from the Supreme Junta, neglected to advance upon the capital, according to the concerted plan of operations. It appeared obvious to Sir Arthur Wellesley, that they resolved to try the result of a general action, and he determined to meet their attack in the neighbourhood of Talavera. Cuesta having given his assent, a position was taken up by the Combined Army on the morning of the 27th, which extended more than two miles. The British were on the left, where the ground was open, and commanded by a height upon which Major-General Hill was stationed with a division of infantry. Still further to the left was a valley about three hundred fathoms wide, running between the height and the mountains of Castile which took the direction of Escalona. This valley was not occupied at first, as it was commanded by the heights before mentioned. The Spanish army was on the right, placed behind old walls and garden hedges in front of Talavera, and supported on either side by the Tagus and the British. In front of the combined army the ground was unequal, and cut up in various parts by ravines formed by the winter rains. Spanish infantry occupied a heavy battery in front of a

church, which protected the high road leading from the bridge over the Alberche; all the avenues to the town, in which Spanish troops were also stationed, were defended in a similar manner; and in the centre between the combined armies was an unfinished redoubt, which did not afford the least shelter to the guns which were placed there. Brigadier-General A. Campbell was posted at this spot with a brigade of infantry and another of dragoons, with some Spanish cavalry in the open ground in his rear. General Mackenzie with a division of infantry and a brigade of cavalry, was stationed as an advanced post in the wood, on the right of the Alberche, which covered the left flank of the British.

General Mackenzie's post was attacked at two o'clock in the afternoon of the 27th, by a very superior force under Generals La Pisse and Chaudron Rousseau. The troops withdrew in perfect order, but not without considerable loss, which was sustained, chiefly, by the 31st and 87th regiments. This movement was supported by the cavalry under Generals Payne and Anson, and the conduct of the 45th regiment and 5th battalion of the 60th, particularly called forth the approbation of Sir Arthur Wellesley.

The other divisions of the French now crossed the Alberche, and advanced to make a general attack on the allied army. About dusk they commenced a cannonade on the left of the British. Their horse, at the same time, attacked the Spanish

infantry on the right, hoping to penetrate into the town of Talavera; but they met such a brave resistance, and found all the avenues so strongly guarded, that they were forced to relinquish the attempt. Marshal Victor quickly perceiving the importance of the height upon which Major General Hill was posted, and which he considered the key of the position, resolved under cover of the night, to make an effort to wrest it from the British. A single battalion with some riflemen at first entered the valley, but they were quickly driven back. The attempt was renewed by General Ruffin at the head of three regiments, supported by Vilatte, while La Pisse made a feint upon the centre of the allied army. Part of these troops are stated in the French accounts to have lost their way, the remainder ascended the height and obtained a momentary possession; but General Hill ordering a charge of bayonets, the enemy were again driven back to their lines with great slaughter.

These repeated attacks on this point made the British doubly sensible of its importance, and during the cessation of the conflict, no means were neglected that could add to its security. Throughout the remainder of the night both sides were on the alert, the troops lay upon the field, the cavalry with their horses bridles round their arms; and in the darkness and confusion which prevailed, it frequently happened that the

videttes of each army were fired on by their own countrymen.

At sun-rise on the following morning the contending armies were discovered drawn up in battle array, within six hundred yards of each other. An hour elapsed before a gun was fired; the cannonading was then renewed on both sides. As the strength of the Spanish position rendered any attempt in that quarter hopeless, the French determined still to direct all their efforts against the left, as the only practicable point of attack. Three regiments in close column once more ascended the long-contested height, reached the summit, and were even advancing to seize the British cannon, when the bayonets of the brave troops by whom it was occupied again drove them back with considerable loss.

To increase the security of this important post, Sir Arthur Wellesley now sent two brigades of cavalry into the valley on the left. The gallant Albuquerque, though ordered by Cuesta with his cavalry to another quarter, chose, at his own risk, to take the post of danger with the English horse, perceiving that they were likely to be charged by superior numbers. Some French riflemen, posted on the adjoining heights to annoy this body, were dislodged with great loss by a division of Spanish infantry, under Don Luis Bassecourt, who were placed on the declivities of the Castilian mountains.

About eleven o'clock a pause took place in this work of death, the burning heat compelling the combatants at both sides to suspend their rage. The French troops cooked their dinners on the field. A little bread and wine was served out to the British. In one part of the plain the hostile warriors were separated by a brook, whither the soldiers of both armies repaired to slake their thirst. They looked at each other while they rested on the brink, and laying aside their muskets and helmets, they, in some instances shook hands across the brook, in token of mutual respect for that valour which both sides had exhibited.

About noon preparations commenced for again renewing the dreadful combat, Joseph Bonaparte himself reconnoitered the position of his opponent, and ordered a general attack, which took place at four o'clock in the afternoon. A body of French cavalry under General Milhaud was left near Talavera to observe the Spaniards, whilst Sebastiani's corps marched against the right of the British, where Brigadier-General Campbell was posted, and Marshal Victor, with three divisions of infantry, followed by great bodies of horse, entered the valley on the left, for the purpose of again attacking that height which had already caused the expenditure of so much blood. King Joseph and Marshal Jourdan placed themselves with the reserve behind Sebastiani's corps.

The British General beheld from a commanding

situation the mighty preparations of the enemy, and with his accustomed ability, he took the most prompt and certain measures for repelling the attack at every point of his position. A ravine which intervened between Victor's corps and the left of the British, was crossed by La Pisse, supported by Latour-Maubourg's dragoons, and sixteen pieces of cannon. Vilatte's division, at the same time, threatened the hills, and over-ran the valley, while Ruffin skirted the Castilian mountains, in order to turn the left flank of the British army. General La Pisse attacked the intrenched height, and scaled it in spite of a tremendous fire of grape-shot, which thinned his ranks at every step. He soon fell himself at the head of his column, which was quickly driven back with dreadful slaughter. They were once more rallied by Victor in person, and brought to the foot of the fatal eminence, while Vilatte with the column in the valley advanced to their support. Marshal Victor now formed his troops into two solid squares, which were protected by a deep ditch, and he seemed resolved to carry the hill by main force. But the moment they put themselves in motion, the squares were charged by General Anson's brigade, consisting of the 23d and 1st German light dragoons. Though met by a tremendous fire of artillery and musketry, these brave troops attacked with determined intrepidity those impenetrable masses. Men and horses were over-

thrown, and these regiments suffered dreadfully, particularly the 23d. The remnant were brought off by General Fane's heavy brigade, which advanced to their support. Though this gallant charge was not attended with the desired success, yet it gave the enemy such a shock as compelled him to give up any further attempt upon the hill, the contest for which since the commencement of the battle had caused the loss of so many valuable lives. The skill and valour with which this important post was defended by Major-General Hill, and the brave officers and troops under his command, was never surpassed, and the conduct of the 29th and 1st battalion of the 48th regiment was particularly noticed by the Commander-in-Chief.

During these transactions the battle raged with equal fury in the centre, where the constant fire of musketry was compared to the roll of a drum intermingled with the deeper sounds of cannon resembling peals of thunder. Sebastiani pushed on within a short distance of the redoubt where General Campbell was posted, but the General ordered a charge of bayonets, by which they were repulsed with the loss of their artillery, and Colonel Robe of the Royal Artillery bringing eighteen pieces of cannon to bear on the flank of the enemy in an oblique direction, great destruction was caused amongst them by the Shrapnell shells. General Campbell was supported upon this occasion by a regiment of Spanish cavalry and

two of infantry. The good conduct of the 7th, 63d and 97th British regiments was eminently conspicuous, and Sir Arthur Wellesley expressed himself highly gratified with the manner in which this part of the position was defended.

General Sherbrooke's division, which was on the left and centre of the first line of the British army, was vigorously assailed at the same time. The attack was met by a general charge of bayonets by the whole of the division, and the enemy were driven back; but the ardour of the brigade of Guards carrying them too far in pursuit, they became exposed to the fire of a heavy battery and a line of infantry, by which they suffered a severe loss. The French, encouraged by this momentary advantage, appeared inclined to advance again; but Sir Arthur Wellesley having seen the advance of the Guards, had wisely provided for the consequences by moving the 1st battalion of the 48th from the heights to their support, and the timely assistance of this regiment, supported by General Cotton's brigade of cavalry, extricated the Guards from the dangerous predicament into which they had been led.

At the close of day the enemy had been repulsed at every point, and during the night they retreated across the Alberche in the most regular order, leaving in the hands of the conquerors twenty pieces of cannon, several tumbrils with ammunition, and some prisoners. In the British official account their loss was stated at ten

thousand men; entire brigades having been destroyed. Among the killed was General La-Pisse, and Generals Sebastiani and Morlot were wounded. The loss of the British in this hard-fought battle, was also severe beyond precedent, when the number of troops engaged is considered. The British army entered the field eighteen thousand three hundred men strong; of these five thousand three hundred and sixty-seven were killed, wounded, or missing at the close of the action.\* Among the slain were Major-General Mackenzie and Brigadier-General Langworth; and Major-General Hill, with Brigadiers-General A. and H. Campbell were wounded. Sir Arthur Wellesley received a severe contusion on his shoulder from a spent musket ball, and two bullets passed through his clothes.

Few battles recorded in history have reflected more credit on the skill of the General or the valour of the troops than that of Talavera, and the fearful odds in point of number, against which

\* The London Gazette recapitulated the loss of the British army upon this occasion as follows:—

*Killed*—5 Staff-Officers, 10 Lieutenant-Colonels, 1 Major, 7 Captains, 15 Lieutenants, 3 Cornets or Ensigns, 1 Adjutant, 8 Serjeants, 4 Drummers, 735 rank and file.

*Wounded*.—9 Staff-Officers, 10 Lieutenant-Colonels, 12 Majors, 53 Captains, 71 Lieutenants, 34 Cornets or Ensigns, 6 Adjutants, 65 Serjeants, 16 Drummers, 3537 rank and file.

*Missing*.—5 Captains, 3 Lieutenants, 1 Cornet or Ensign, 15 Serjeants, 2 Drummers, 620 rank and file—Grand total 5367.

the British army had to contend, (their opponents being more than two to one,) must ever give it a place amongst the most signal victories achieved by British heroism. The wisdom and judgment with which the position was selected, and the troops disposed, were manifested by the utter failure of every renewed attempt of the enemy to overcome that intrepid bravery with which every point was defended. The presence of the Spanish army afforded considerable security to the right of the position, but the French directed their attacks wholly against the British, and no part of Cuesta's force was engaged except the divisions of Albuquerque and Bassecourt, and the two battalions under General Whittingham, an English officer, which were attached to General Campbell's brigade. These troops being well commanded, behaved with distinguished bravery, and suffered a loss of more than twelve hundred men; but some other Spanish corps threw away their arms, without having once discharged them, or being even menaced with an attack, and fled from the field. These men were afterwards decimated by Cuesta's orders, and several of the officers put to death. The whole of the Spanish Commissariat also took to flight at the commencement of the action; and the allies found themselves at its close in total want of food and other resources.

The skill and valour exhibited at the battle of Talavera, were acknowledged in terms of the strongest approbation by the British Sovereign

and both Houses of Parliament; and Sir Arthur Wellesley was elevated to the peerage, by the titles of Viscount Wellington of Talavera and of Wellington, and Baron Douro of Wellesley in the county of Somerset.

But notwithstanding this signal success, and though Brigadier-General Crawford joined the British army the day after the action with a reinforcement of three thousand men, Lord Wellington was unable to pursue his victory for want of provisions and means of transport. Joseph Bonaparte, after leaving a division of his army on the Alberche, had proceeded with the remainder to the relief of Toledo, which had been attacked by Venegas, and to over-awe the inhabitants of Madrid who were on the point of opening their gates to Sir Robert Wilson, whose advanced posts were at this time at Naval Carnero. He was, however, ignorant of the privations under which the combined armies laboured, and his chief hope rested on the result of an attack about to be made on the rear by the united forces of Soult, Ney, and Mortier.

Soult had issued orders on the 20th, for assembling the whole of these troops at Salamanca, and Joseph Bonaparte instructed them to advance as speedily as possible to Plasencia. Lord Wellington had foreseen the probability of this movement, and the necessity of securing the passes of the mountain ridge which the enemy had to cross. His Lordship directed General Beresford, with

the Portuguese troops, to defend the pass of Perales, and Cuesta sent the Marquis de la Reyna to occupy the Puerto de Banos. Lord Wellington pressed the necessity of sending a larger force under an officer of abilities; but this was obstinately refused by the Spanish General until intelligence was received that the French had entered Bejar. Bassecourt was now despatched, when too late, with a strong body of troops; for the French, after defeating the corps of the Marquis de la Reyna, entered Plasencia on the 1st of August, by which means the communication of the British with Portugal was intercepted, and their rear was threatened, if they should advance on Madrid, or even continue at Talavera.

As it was of the utmost importance to the British General to keep open the communication through Plasencia, he determined to march with the whole of the English army to attack Soult, whose force was supposed to be far inferior to that of the British. He left fifteen hundred sick and wounded men at Talavera, who could not be removed from the nature of their cases or the want of conveyance. The Spanish army under Cuesta was left to protect them, and cover the rear of the British, but the Spanish General abandoned his position the following morning, and followed the route of his allies. By this hasty step Lord Wellington was placed in a most critical situation. He had received certain intelligence that Soult had reached Naval Moral not more than

eighteen miles distant, while Victor again advancing, had arrived at St. Ollalla, so that he now saw himself exposed to an attack both in front and rear by two armies, each superior to his own. From this peril nothing could extricate him but two victories, if he stood his ground, and for these he would have to contend with troops who, for several days, had not received their allowance of provisions. Nothing remained therefore, but to cross the Tagus at the bridge of Arzobispo, and take a defensive post upon that river. Lord Wellington, accordingly retreated by this route on the 4th, and Cuesta followed on the 5th.

The head-quarters of the British army were now placed at Deleitosa, from whence they could defend the point of Almaraz, and the lower parts of the Tagus. Cuesta took post at Arzobispo, but he soon retired from thence, leaving two divisions of infantry, and the Duke d'Albuquerque's division of cavalry to defend the passage of the river. Though the French were in considerable force on the opposite side, Cuesta satisfied himself with fortifying the bridge, never examining whether the river might not be fordable. Mortier, who commanded the army on the opposite bank, erected batteries to distract the attention of the Spaniards, and at the same time he ordered Dombrowsky, the chief of his staff, to sound the Tagus, who discovered a ford about eighty fathoms above the bridge and the Spanish batteries, and measures having been taken to

defend this passage, the French crossed the river on the 8th of August, while the Spaniards were taking their usual sleep at noon, and the works of the bridge were taken in the rear and destroyed. The Spaniards immediately fled, after losing the whole of their artillery and ammunition.

Though Mortier succeeded in this enterprize, yet the French found the points by which they had hoped to cut off the retreat of the English into Portugal so well protected, that they gave up that design: and while Mortier returned to Salamanca to act in concert with Kellerman against the Duke del Parque and Romana, Ney fell back towards Old Castile, and near the Puerto de Banos he came in contact with the small force under Sir Robert Wilson. After General Cuesta had retired from Talavera, this corps made a long and difficult march through the mountains of Valada; but finding it impracticable to join the British army by the route of Oropesa, he re-crossed the river Tieter, and having carried by storm the village of Viranda, he passed over the Sierra Llana, a ridge of mountains eternally covered with snow. He reached Banos on the 11th, and on the following morning proceeded towards Grenadilla, in order to restore his communication with the allied armies. Receiving intelligence on his march, that a body of the enemy were approaching, he turned back, and

took post in front of Banos. The advanced picquets of cavalry were speedily driven in; but two hundred Spanish infantry under Colonel Grant of the Lusitanian Legion, who were posted at Aldea Nueva, maintained their post with great bravery, till considerable bodies of the enemy's cavalry appeared on each flank, and compelled them to retire. Another division of the Lusitanian Legion gallantly withstood the progress of the enemy to Banos, till the Spanish battalion of Merida gave way, which opening a road to the rear of the position, Sir Robert ordered a retreat to the adjacent heights. Here, though destitute of artillery, and assailed by an enemy treble the number of his troops, he gallantly maintained his ground for nine hours, till the French obtaining possession of the height on the left, the post became no longer tenable. Sir Robert Wilson now retreated into the mountains, and Ney returned to Salamanca, after suffering a loss in this action perhaps not inferior to what he inflicted.

During these proceedings Victor had taken possession of Talavera, where his humanity to the wounded English who fell into his hands was eminently conspicuous. The unfortunate sufferers both French and English were lodged together, and directions were given that the latter should be first attended to. The same humane and courteous conduct was pursued by Mortier, but Soult prosecuted the war with relentless fury. His army devastated the fertile vale of Plasencia by

fire and sword, burned several towns to the ground, and committed many murders; of these the most atrocious was that of the venerable Don Juan Alvarez de Castro, Bishop of Coria, who, in his eighty-sixth year, was dragged from his bed, and shot.

The army of Venegas, which had remained so supinely inactive during the advance of the allied armies, was now, by their retreat, placed in circumstances of the utmost peril. That general was at the head of about twenty thousand men on the 5th of August in the neighbourhood of Aranjuez; and here, in the celebrated gardens of the Kings of Spain, an action took place, in which the French under Sebastiani were worsted, with the loss of thirteen hundred men killed and wounded. On the 10th, Venegas assembled his whole force at Almonacid, where, encouraged by his success on the 5th, he resolved to attack the enemy, supposing their number not to exceed fourteen thousand. The attack was, however, deferred till the 12th, according to the system of indecision and delay, which at this time so unhappily influenced all the operations of the Spanish commanders, and in the mean time Joseph joined Sebastiani with the reserve. The French army, amounting now to about twenty-eight thousand men, became the assailants. The fate of the day depended on the possession of a hill, where the left wing was posted under General Lacy. Laval with two divisions attacked the hill both in front

and on the right ; and though the French troops suffered severely, the Spanish battalions were at length forced to give way, and the enemy proving equally successful in the centre, the whole line after a spirited contest was forced to fall back. Venegas then took up a second position behind Almonacid, where he was soon attacked at all points by superior numbers. He continued to resist till all hopes of recovering the day had fled, when he commenced a retreat to Manzanares, which was conducted for some time in good order; but the circulation of false reports soon put an end to discipline, and the troops dispersed in every direction. The French stated that the Spaniards in this action, lost thirty-five pieces of cannon, and eight thousand men in killed and wounded ; while the latter asserted that the enemy lost an equal number. It is probable that both parties greatly exaggerated. Venegas continued his retreat to La Carolina, and in a few days was again able to take the field.

In order, if possible, to invigorate the councils of the Spanish Government, which had to the present appeared so destitute of wisdom and energy, the British Cabinet resolved to send the Marquis Wellesley to Spain as Ambassador Extraordinary. This celebrated statesman arrived at Cadiz a few days after the battle of Talavera, and was received by the whole population with the most enthusiastic acclamations. In honour of the recent victory, a French flag was laid on the ground, that

he might tread on it as he stepped on shore, and at Seville he was greeted with similar demonstrations of joy and respect. As subsequent events had greatly damped the hopes which the battle of Talavera had inspired, the presence of the Marquis, and the wisdom of his councils were calculated at such a juncture, to produce the most beneficial effects. In conducting this delicate mission, he studiously avoided every thing that could be construed into an interference with the domestic regulations of the country, and rendered it apparent that the deliverance of Spain, was the sole object of the British Government. If they required the assistance of the British army, he pointed out the necessity of supplying their wants, and facilitating their progress; otherwise, they would be under the necessity of quitting the country. Though his Excellency did not insist on the removal of General Cuesta from the command of the Spanish army, yet he gave it as his opinion, that he was deficient in every qualification for that high and important office, except personal courage. He called the attention of the Junta to the absolute necessity of calling forth and concentrating all the military resources of the country, and of directing the public spirit, and applying its energies to great national objects. He recommended the appointment of a Regency, and the speedy convocation of the Cortes, and suggested the propriety of correcting existing abuses, suppressing arbitrary exactions both in Spain and the Indies,

securing to the colonies a share in the representation, and reforming the whole military system of the country. These serious topics were dwelt upon in the true spirit of a statesman, anxious at once to deliver Spain from a foreign yoke and domestic tyranny. Though listened to with respect and attention, the suggestions of his Excellency were not immediately adopted by the Spanish Government; but they, no doubt, had their influence in directing their future proceedings. The Marquis was recalled soon after to fill the high office in the British Cabinet of Secretary for Foreign Affairs, which enabled him to second with still greater effect the energetic efforts of his illustrious relative for the deliverance of the Peninsula.

The Junta now perceiving that no hope remained of a cordial co-operation between the British Commander and General Cuesta, resolved on depriving the latter of his command; but this was wisely anticipated by the Spanish General, who requested permission to resign on the ground of ill health, that he might go to the baths of Alhama. His resignation was accepted, and the command conferred *pro tempore* on General Eguia, who possessed no other qualification for the office than a tolerable acquaintance with the military topography of Spain. Albuquerque was allowed to be the fittest person in the country to fill this important situation, but the Junta were unhappily jealous of his rank, his popularity, and

his enlightened views. In the new commander Lord Wellington found the same disinclination to co-operate with him, or afford the necessary assistance to his army, as had actuated his predecessor ; and seeing no probability of being able to make, under present circumstances, any forward movement, he proceeded, in the beginning of September, to Badajoz, stationing part of his army within the Portuguese frontier, and the remainder on the Spanish territory, in a position which would menace the flank and rear of the French if they advanced towards Andalusia.

Thus, through the obstinate conduct of the Spanish generals and the neglect of the government to provide subsistence and means of transport for that army, which had so bravely fought and bled in their behalf, was Lord Wellington compelled to forego all the advantages which had been anticipated from the splendid victory of Talavera, and Spain was left once more to carry on the contest with her native resources. The French had, at this time, one hundred and twenty-five thousand men in the field, well furnished with cavalry and artillery, exclusive of the garrisons in the different fortresses which had fallen into their hands. The immediate danger which menaced the capital having been now removed, Joseph adopted, without scruple, every method within his reach that was likely to raise money for the maintenance of this great army and the dignity of his Court. Being entirely cut off from

the immense resources which Spain derived from her colonial empire, the impoverished inhabitants of that part of the kingdom of which his troops had obtained possession, had to sustain the entire weight of these grievous burdens. Severe punishment was denounced against all persons who should secrete papers or effects belonging to the monasteries—the revenues of all Archbishops and Bishops were sequestered, and in lieu thereof they were in future to receive pensions from the State. The property of all Spaniards in foreign countries was confiscated, and any person buying or selling gold, silver, or jewels, belonging to a suppressed convent or to a Patriot, was ordered to be severely punished. All persons possessing plate to the amount of more than ten dollars, (except in plates, knives, and spoons,) were ordered to send an account thereof to the mint, where a fourth of the value should be immediately paid, and the remainder was promised in four months. In Upper Spain all horses and mares above a certain height were put in requisition for the French armies; and the owners of horses and mares below that size were ordered under the severest penalties to put out their left eyes, and render them in other ways unfit for service.—The punishment of death was denounced against all who assisted the insurgents, (so the Patriots were denominated) in any manner, and one sweeping decree abolished all dignities and titles which had not emanated from the intrusive government, and

suppressed all the monastic and clerical orders in Spain. Such were the measures by which King Joseph proposed to restore this once celebrated country to its state of ancient grandeur.

The French force at this period in the two Castiles and Estremadura, amounted to seventy thousand men, under Victor, Soult, Ney, Sebastiani, and Mortier. To oppose this formidable body, Eguia and Venegas had about fifty thousand men in their two armies; the Marquis de la Romana was in Galicia with fifteen thousand men, and the Duke del Parque had a considerable force at Ciudad Rodrigo. The greater part of these, however, were in a most inefficient state, destitute of every requisite to render their efforts successful, courage excepted. Ney, with fifteen thousand French troops was in the neighbourhood of Salamanca, while Soult had his head-quarters at Plasencia. These Generals having determined to lay siege to Ciudad Rodrigo, conceived it to be first necessary to attempt the destruction of the Duke del Parque's army, which was strongly posted on the heights of Tamames. On the 18th of October, General Marchand attacked this position with a body of nearly twelve thousand men and fourteen pieces of cannon. The main attack was directed against the left, which was the weakest point. Though General Carrera supported by the Count de Belvedere withstood the attack with great gallantry, the day would have been lost had not

the Duke with his staff rallied the troops when they were on the point of falling back. Carrera, by a vigorous charge with the bayonet, recovered the guns which had for a moment fallen into the hands of their opponents, and the French being also repulsed in an attack on the right and centre, were compelled to quit the field in great disorder, after sustaining a loss of more than three thousand men in killed and wounded. The Duke del Parque now advanced to Salamanca, which the French evacuated at his approach, and every thing in this quarter seemed for some time favourable to the cause of the Patriots.

It seemed, however, at this period, as if the Spanish Junta did not possess the talents for improving a victory, and the advantages gained by the Duke del Parque were more than counter-balanced by the mad precipitancy which urged the government to order the army in La Mancha to advance upon Madrid. Fifty thousand raw troops were collected for this purpose, and as both Albuquerque and Romana were objects of jealousy to the Junta, and Eguia and Venegas are said to have refused the command, the conduct of this rash enterprize was entrusted to Don Juan Carlos de Areizaga, an officer as little accustomed to military service as the troops under his direction. His army consisted of forty-three thousand foot, near seven thousand cavalry, and sixty pieces of cannon; and it was determined that while

Areizaga manœuvred to gain the mountains of the Guadarama, the Duke del Parque was to threaten Madrid on the side of the Escorial, and Albuquerque to advance in the direction of Talavera. On the 3d of November Areizaga commenced his march from the foot of the Sierra Morena, preceded by an advanced guard of two thousand cavalry, under General Freire. They moved from twenty to thirty miles a day, the enemy retiring before them, and in several skirmishes the Spaniards proved successful. Having at length reached St. Cruz de la Zarza, they threw bridges over the Tagus, took up a position, and Areizaga drew out his army in order of battle. The enemy proving, however, too cautious to fight on these terms, the Spanish general rashly resolved on quitting his advantageous post in the mountains, to give battle in the plain; and although Baron Crossand, an Austrian officer who was then on a mission to the Spanish army, used the strongest arguments to point out what would be the inevitable consequences of such a determination, he marched back to Dos Barrios, and then advanced upon Ocana into the open country. Some French troops stationed there were driven out by the Spanish horse, after a sharp skirmish in which General Paris was killed, and four or five hundred men fell on both sides.

On the advance of the Spanish army, Joseph Bonaparte had taken up a strong position near Toledo, with the corps of Mortier and Sebastiani,

stated by the French accounts as amounting to twenty-four thousand men, though rated by their opponents at nearly double that number. They speedily availed themselves of the advantages which the temerity of their adversary had put into their hands, and on the morning of the 19th, they crossed the Tagus and prepared for battle. Areizaga's army was injudiciously posted in two divisions on each side of the town, with the artillery upon the flanks, and the cavalry in four lines upon the right.

At seven in the morning the action commenced, by General Zayas, with his advanced-guard, driving back the French cavalry. Mortier then opened a cannonade on the Spanish right wing, which was followed by the advance of Leval with the Polish and German troops. The Spaniards withstood their attack for some time with considerable resolution, but they were at length broken, and a charge of cavalry completed their confusion. The left wing still remained firm, and manifested the most determined courage. Areizaga, however, was so completely overwhelmed by the disaster which had befallen the right, that he quitted the field, ordering the left to follow him. Lord Macduff, who was with the Spanish army, requested the next officer in rank to assume the command, but while he was making the most strenuous exertions for this purpose, the French cavalry broke through the centre, and the route was completed. Exposed on an immense plain,

the Spaniards were now pursued on all sides, and cut down or taken prisoners by the French cavalry. According to the statements of the enemy, twenty thousand prisoners fell into their hands, and four thousand were left dead upon the field. Thirty pieces of cannon, twenty standards, and above thirty thousand muskets were also captured by the enemy; but the most important result of this battle was, that it opened a passage for the invaders into the south of Spain.

The defeat of Areizaga was speedily followed by that of the Duke del Parque, who since his victory over Marchand, had remained in the open country of Castile. The defeated corps by its union with Kellerman's division from Valladolid, was now increased to twenty thousand men, and del Parque resolved to wait its attack at Carpio, the only rising ground in these extensive plains. The enemy approached slowly, as if waiting for other troops to come up, which induced the Spanish commander to march to meet them, but the French immediately fell back to Medina del Campo, fighting all the way. Being joined by considerable reinforcements, the enemy again advanced, and the Duke del Parque perceiving his situation to be extremely perilous, found it necessary to retrace his steps, and he continued to fall back till on the 28th of November, he reached Alba de Tormes, near Salamanca, where he resolved to give battle to the enemy who were now very close upon him. The infantry was

posted on the heights which command the town on both sides of the river, and the whole of the cavalry was stationed on the left bank.

The Spanish foot and artillery met the first attack of the French under General Lorcet with the greatest intrepidity, and the enemy were driven back. The French horse now charged the right wing of the Spaniards; the cavalry of the latter were ordered to meet the charge, but being seized with a sudden and unaccountable panic, they fled without exchanging a single shot; and when rallied and brought back they fled a second time, leaving the right flank of the army wholly uncovered. Notwithstanding this misfortune, the infantry thus exposed to an overwhelming force, fought with an heroism that would have done honour to veteran troops: Resistance, however, proved unavailing. The enemy then charged the left, where they were three times repulsed, and Mendizabel and Carrera forming their troops into an oblong square, every attempt of the French cavalry to break through them was frustrated. During the night this wing retreated from the field in good order in the direction of Tamames. On the following morning the appearance of a small party of the enemy's horse excited a sudden panic, and those very men who had conducted themselves with so much intrepidity on the preceding day, took to flight, throwing away their firelocks and knapsacks in every direction. Kellerman stated the loss of the Spaniards in this

action at five thousand men with all the artillery of the right wing. The result enabled the French to direct their attack against Ciudad Rodrigo, and Portugal was once more threatened, which induced Lord Wellington to remove his position from the neighbourhood of Badajoz to the north of the Tagus, there to adopt such measures as would enable him to guard against the future projects of the enemy.

During these transactions, the French army in the east of Spain was almost wholly occupied by the siege of Gerona, in Catalonia. This town surrendered on the 10th of December, after a brave defence of seven months, during which the inhabitants emulated the noble example of their brethren of Saragossa. Gerona is situated at the foot of a mountain on the little river Onar, and was surrounded by old walls in good repair. Its chief defence, however, was the citadel of Montjuic, which commanded the town at a short distance, and was furnished with several bastions and out-works of considerable strength.\* The French had been repulsed during the preceding year, in an attempt on this fortress, but after the defeat and death of the gallant Reding, they appeared once more on the neighbouring heights, and on

\* During the War of the Succession in the beginning of the last century, Gèrona was distinguished by its brave resistance against Philip V.

the 6th of May they planted a battery of eleven mortars upon Casa Roca. The citizens instantly flew to arms to aid the small garrison, which amounted to only three thousand four hundred men, and the Governor, Don Mariano Alvarez, proved in every way worthy of their confidence. The bombardment commenced on the 13th of June, by which several of the principal buildings were soon destroyed, but the main attacks of the enemy were directed against the citadel of Monjuic. They soon rendered the out-works untenable, and the fire of their tremendous artillery effected a breach in the north front of the fortress, wide enough to admit forty men abreast. On the night of the 4th of July the besiegers assaulted the breach, but they were repulsed with considerable loss. On the 8th they renewed the attempt with six thousand chosen men. Three times they rushed to the assault, and were as often beat back, and they were at length compelled to retire with the loss of sixteen hundred soldiers.

The French perceiving that Monjuic was not to be taken by assault, continued to bombard it on three sides with redoubled vigour, while numerous sharp-shooters stationed in the trenches took such deadly aim, that it was almost certain destruction for one of the garrison to make his appearance. Nine sentinels were thus killed in one day, and few escaped without a wound. They at length completely silenced the guns of the castle, and advanced so near, that the Spaniards sometimes

knocked them down with stones. The governor, Don G. Nasch, held out for thirty-seven days after a practicable breach was made, and then, feeling it to be his duty to preserve the remnant of his brave garrison, he abandoned the ruins of Monjuic, and retired into the city.

General St. Cyr, after this success, vainly imagined that Gerona would prove an easy conquest. He planted batteries on every point from which the city could be commanded, and shells were almost incessantly thrown in, both by night and day. The governor, notwithstanding his very small garrison, made several sallies, in which the troops displayed the greatest intrepidity. A battery of three cannon was planted on the tower of the Cathedral, where the clergy kept the guard, and frequently annoyed the enemy with musketry. Female companies were also formed, under the command of three ladies of distinction, named Fitzgerald, Viveru, and Custi. As both famine and pestilence had begun to spread their horrors through this devoted town, it may be easily conjectured that the duties which fell to the lot of these heroines must have been of the most afflictive and laborious nature.

Towards the end of August General Blake, whose head-quarters were at St. Ilari, formed a project for throwing troops and provisions into the town, and the plan was executed with uncommon ability. Having prepared a convoy of fifteen

hundred mules at Olot, he placed them under an escort of four thousand men, commanded by General Garcia de Conde, who was ordered to move towards Gerona by the right bank of the river. In the mean time attacks were made at different points, which so distracted the enemy's attention, that St. Cyr conceived the Spanish General wished to give him battle, for the purpose of liberating the city. He accordingly collected his army, leaving before Gerona only as many troops as were necessary to defend the works against the garrison. Blake's plan of operations proved completely successful, for while Don Henrique O'Donnell, assisted by Don Pedro Sarsfield, drove the enemy from the heights of Brunolas, Don Juan Claros was equally successful on the left bank of the Tor, and General Llanden obtaining possession of the heights of Los Angeles, a way was opened for the convoy, which entered Gerona amidst the loudest acclamations of joy. Three thousand men were thus added to the garrison, but the convoy contained only provisions for fifteen days.

The enemy now kept up a tremendous fire on the three points of St. Lucia, St. Cristobal, and the Quartel des Alemanes, and the engineers having declared, on the 18th of September, that the breaches in these several quarters were practicable, an assault was determined on. Alvarez took the most admirable measures for defence, and when at day-break on the following morning the

enemy advanced to the attack, they met such a determined resistance, that they were ultimately repulsed with the loss of eight hundred men. Nasch, the defender of Monjuic, was particularly distinguished at the Quartel des Alemanes, and the brave Colonel Marshall and Don Ricardo Maccarty fell gloriously in the breach of St. Lucia, which they defended with the greatest heroism.

The sufferings of the garrison from sickness and want of food continued to increase almost beyond endurance, and their only hope rested on Blake's exertions in their behalf. That indefatigable chief had assembled a fresh convoy at Hortalric on the 21st of September, and a strong body of the garrison sallied out to meet the advance of their friends. Don Luis Wimpfen, who commanded the Spanish force which protected the convoy, sent forward the gallant O'Donnell with a thousand men to force a passage through the enemy; and he performed this service so admirably, that he made way for one hundred and sixty laden beasts, after setting fire to one of the encampments of the besiegers. He was made a brigadier as a reward for his conduct upon this occasion, and remained with his corps for some time in Gerona; but the increased consumption of provisions by the presence of so many additional persons compelling him to quit the place, he had again to cut his way through the enemy, by whom the city was now completely environed. He left

Gerona at the head of his gallant band during the night of the 13th of October, and after passing by or forcing his way through twenty-five of the enemy's posts, he joined a part of Blake's army at St. Colonna on the following morning.

The besiegers received considerable reinforcements in the month of November, about which time General St. Cyr was superseded in the command by Marshal Augereau. The enemy soon after made a successful attack on Hostalric, and destroyed the magazines which had been collected there for the relief of Gerona. This cut off the last hope from the unfortunate inhabitants, amongst whom the dysentery raged with such violence, that seventy deaths sometimes occurred in one day. Famine, at the same time, prevailed to such an extent, that it became necessary to set guards over the public ovens, and the food, while conveying to the hospitals, was frequently seized by the famishing populace. A report drawn up by the first surgeon, represented the miseries of the citizens in terms that could not be perused but with feelings of the utmost horror.

But, notwithstanding the extremity of their sufferings, the brave Geronans still refused to listen to the reiterated solicitations of the enemy to surrender; and when Augereau, with a humanity highly honourable to him, offered to grant an armistice for a month, during which supplies should be permitted to enter, provided Alvarez would capitulate at the end of that time if not

relieved, they rejected the compromise, because it would leave a large portion of the besieging army at liberty for other operations. The strength of the brave defenders was now, however, nearly exhausted, the daily ration being only a handful of wheat, or a quarter of a small loaf, with five ounces of horse's or mule's flesh every alternate day. At the beginning of December nearly all the out-works had fallen into the hands of the enemy, and the governor Alvarez, being seized with a nervous fever, soon became delirious. The command then devolved on Don Juan de Bolitar, who summoned a council composed of the Juntas both civil and military, whose deliberations ended in sending an officer to treat for a capitulation. This was signed on the 10th, and the terms were highly honourable to the garrison, as well as peculiarly favourable to the inhabitants. During the negotiations, the French soldiers manifested their high estimation for their brave opponents, by bringing provisions and wine to the foot of the walls, which were drawn up by cords. The garrison broke the greater part of their arms before they surrendered, and their shrunken limbs and meagre countenances, when drawn up in sight of the French army, fully indicated that they were subdued alone by famine and disease. Don Alvarez, soon after his recovery, was sent off under a strong escort to Figueras, in France.

The capture of Gerona terminated the second campaign of the French in Spain; the cause of

the Patriots seemed at this period more hopeless than ever; and it was naturally conjectured that every future attempt at resistance, would be speedily crushed by the overwhelming force which Napoleon, now returned from his triumph over Austria, would be enabled to pour into the country. The brilliant opening of the campaign by Lord Wellington had excited the strongest anticipations of a very different result; but it has been already seen how his well-digested plans and splendid victory were rendered fruitless by the perverse obstinacy of the Spanish generals, and the ignorance and contracted views of the government, who seemed more attentive to the preservation of their own power, than to the honour and liberty of their country. A man possessed of less greatness of soul and knowledge of the human character than the British Commander, would have retired with disgust from a service in which all his measures were likely to be thwarted, and the lustre of his former achievements tarnished by the indolence, selfishness, and imbecillity of those with whom he might have to co-operate. But the penetration of Lord Wellington perceived that the Spanish nation, notwithstanding the disasters and defeats which had occurred, still possessed a degree of patriotic energy, which only required to be properly directed to prove successful. Towards the close of the year hopes were entertained, that a better order of things would soon commence. The illustrious Romana declared himself the

opponent of the continued authority of the existing government, whose conduct he warmly condemned. He was strenuously supported by other distinguished patriots, and the Supreme Junta, probably dreading the indignation of the people, and anxious to get rid of the heavy weight of responsibility which now rested upon them, issued a manifesto from Seville on the 28th of October, for convoking the Cortes, which was appointed to enter on its august functions on the 1st of March in the following year.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

Affairs of France.—Congratulatory Addresses on the return of Napoleon to his Capital.—Meeting of the Legislative Body.—Imperial Divorce.—Great Britain.—Partial change of Ministry.—Duel between Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning.—The Jubilee.—Meeting of Parliament.—King's Speech.—Debates on the Conduct of the War.—Thanks to Lord Wellington.—Enquiry into the Expedition to the Scheldt.—Mr. York moves the Standing Order of the House for the Exclusion of Strangers.—John Gale Jones committed to Newgate for a Breach of Privilege.—Sir Francis Burdett makes a Motion for the Liberation of Jones, which is rejected.—Sir Francis Burdett publishes his Speech, which is declared by the House of Commons to be a Breach of their Privileges.—The Speaker issues a Warrant for the Arrest of the Baronet, which he resists.—He is at length committed to the Tower, and liberated at the end of the Session.—Death and Character of Mr. Windham.—British Expeditions.—Conquest of the Isles of Bourbon and France, and of the Dutch Islands of Amboyna and Banda.—Suppression of a dangerous Mutiny in India.—Successful Expedition against Guadaloupe.—Capture of Saint Maura in the Mediterranean.—Sir John Stuart repulses an Attempt of the Enemy on Sicily.—Naval Affairs.—Success of Captain Brenton in the Bay of Naples.—Gallant Exploit of Captain Murray Maxwell in the Bay of Agaye.—Spirited Conduct of Captain Blackwood.

**N**UMEROUS addresses of congratulation greeted the return of Napoleon to his capital, after his

triumphant termination of the war with Austria. His reply to that of the Roman deputies was remarkable, as intimating new designs with respect to Italy, and the Papal See. "My mind," said he, "is filled with remembrances of your ancestors. The French Emperors, my predecessors, had separated you from the territory of the empire, and assigned your country as a fief to your Bishops; but the welfare of my people no longer admits any division whatever. France and Italy must be completely united under the same system. Besides you were in need of a powerful head. I feel a particular satisfaction in being your benefactor. But it is not my intention that there shall be any, the least change made in the religion of our fathers. I, the eldest son of the Church, will not depart from her bosom. Jesus Christ did not deem it necessary to invest St. Peter with a secular supremacy. Your See, the first of Christendom, shall remain such. Your Bishop is the spiritual head of the Church, in like manner as I am its Cæsar. I give to God that which is God's, and to Cæsar that which is Cæsar's."

In addressing the Legislative Body, which opened its sittings on the 3d of December, he gave a summary view of the recent successes of his arms. Arragon and Castile had been conquered, and he was advancing upon Cadiz and Lisbon, when he was recalled to plant his eagles on the ramparts of Vienna. This fourth Punic war he

had terminated in three months, during which his soldiers of Germany had given him signal proofs of their affection. He informed the Senate, that the genius of France had conducted the English army to terminate its projects in the pestilential marshes of Walcheren. Thus, he said, shall the grandeur of the French nation be increased by the hatred of its enemies. Possessing the force and energy of the Hercules of the ancients, he predicted for France long years of glory and prosperity. He informed them that he had been induced to unite the Tuscans with France, from the mildness of their character, and the services they had rendered to European civilization. Other reasons had led him to annul the donative of the French Emperors, his predecessors, to the Roman Pontiff, and unite the Roman States to France; particularly, as it was demonstrated to him that the spiritual influence exercised in states by a foreign sovereign was contrary to the independence of France, and to the dignity and safety of his throne. By the Treaty of Vienna his allies had acquired a fresh increase of territory, and the Illyrian provinces stretched his great empire beyond the Saave. He was now in a situation to watch over his commerce in the Mediterranean, the Adriatic and the Levant, and had it in his power to protect or punish the Porte, according to her conduct with respect to England. He had resolved to give to the Swiss nation a new proof of his esteem, by annexing to his titles that of

their Mediator. He announced the necessity of fresh changes with respect to Holland, and expressed his great satisfaction that his ally and friend, the Emperor of Russia, had united to his vast empire Finland, Moldavia, Wallachia, and a district of Gallicia. The state of Spain closed this inflated harangue. "When," said Napoleon, "I shall shew myself beyond the Pyrennees, the frightened leopard will fly to the ocean, to avoid shame, defeat, and death. The triumph of my arms will be the triumph of the genius of good over that of evil; of moderation, order, and morality over civil war, anarchy, and the bad passions. My friendship and protection will, I hope, restore tranquillity and happiness to the people of the Spains."

Napoleon now expressed his joy that the ideas he had conceived for the melioration of his people had been so actively followed up, and from the flourishing state of the finances no new sacrifice was required. Yet, although the Austrian war was over, circumstances obliged him to double his military means. Thirty-six thousand men were required to fill up his three hundred battalions, and one hundred and fifty squadrons, who were waging an unprincipled war in Spain. Twenty-five thousand men were to be taken by anticipation from the conscription of 1811, should events prove contrary to his hopes; and thus were the French people still made the dupes and the victims of his boundless ambition.

Napoleon soon after exhibited another of those singular traits of character, which, throughout his political life, had so frequently marked his disregard for all the institutions of society, whether divine or human; and his usual pretext, the happiness of his people, was not wanting upon this occasion. Before he could accomplish the new object which he meditated, to receive in marriage the hand of an Imperial Princess, it was necessary that he should divorce his former consort Josephine. He was, no doubt, ambitious of the glory of being the founder of a new royal dynasty in France; and the recent death of his nephew, the eldest son of the king of Holland, naturally increased his anxiety for the adoption of a measure which might transmit the imperial crown to his posterity.

The greater part of his family were at this time assembled at Paris, and the preliminaries having been previously arranged, Cambaceres (Duke of Parma,) the Prince Arch-Chancellor, was summoned, on the 15th of December, to attend the Emperor at the Grand Cabinet of the Thuilleries. —Here in the presence of the newly created Kings and Queens, Princes and Princesses of the Bonaparte and Beauharnois families, Napoleon declared, that the politics of his monarchy, the interests and the wants of his people, which, he said, had constantly guided all his actions, required that after him he should leave to children, who would inherit his love for his people, that throne

on which Providence had placed him. He then declared, that for several years he had lost all hopes of having children by his marriage with his beloved consort, the Empress Josephine; and this induced him, for the good of the state, to sacrifice the sweetest affections of his heart, and to wish the dissolution of his marriage. Arrived at the age of forty years, he indulged a hope of living long enough to educate in his views and sentiments, the children which Providence might be pleased to give him. He called Heaven to witness how much this resolution had cost his heart, but he made the sacrifice as necessary to the welfare of France. He declared himself perfectly satisfied with the attachment and affection of his beloved consort, who had adorned fifteen years of his life, and had been crowned by his own hand. He wished her to retain the rank and title of Empress, and that she should ever regard him as her best and dearest friend.

The Empress, (whatever may have been her feelings,) performed with suitable dignity the part allotted to her in the ceremony of her repudiation. By permission of her dear and august consort, she felt herself bound to declare, that she no longer preserved any hope of having children, and she was pleased to give him the greatest proof of attachment and devotion which had ever been given upon earth, by consenting to the dissolution of a marriage which deprived France of the happiness of being one day

governed by the descendants of a great man, evidently raised up by Providence to efface the evils of a terrible revolution, and to re-establish the altar, the throne, and social order. The dissolution of the marriage, she said, would in no degree change the sentiments of her heart for the Emperor, who should ever have in her his best friend. She possessed all from his bounty; his hand had crowned her; and from the height of that throne she had received nothing but proofs of affection and love from the French people. She knew how much the act demanded by policy and the interests of France had chilled the heart of the Emperor; but they both exulted in the sacrifice thus made for the good of the country.

The members of the Imperial Family who were present having signed a *proces-verbal* of these declarations, it was laid before the Conservative Senate, by whom it was received with the most profound astonishment and admiration! Count Regnault declared that Napoleon was deserving of their everlasting gratitude and love, for immolating the most sacred of his affections to the wants of his subjects, and Josephine, for sacrificing her tenderness for the best of husbands, her devotion to the best of kings, through attachment to the best of nations. "Accept, Gentlemen," said the orator, "in the name of all France—in the sight of *astonished Europe*, this sacrifice, the *greatest ever made on earth*, and full of the pro-

found emotion which you feel, hasten to carry to the foot of the throne, in the tribute of your sentiments, of the sentiments of all Frenchmen, the only praise that can be worthy of the fortitude of our sovereign, the only consolation that can be worthy of their hearts." Eugene Beauharnois, the Viceroy of Italy, acknowledged that his mother, his sister, and himself, owed all to the Emperor, and declared his conviction that it was important to the happiness of France, that the founder of the fourth dynasty should in his old age be surrounded by direct descendants. The soul of his mother had often been moved at beholding exposed to painful struggles the heart of a man accustomed to conquer fortune, and advance with a firm step to the accomplishment of his great designs; and she had now fulfilled with fortitude and dignity the first of duties by sacrificing all her affections to the interest of France. The tears which this resolution had cost the Emperor would, he said, suffice for the glory of his mother, who, in her new situation, would behold the happiness which her magnanimous conduct would produce to her country, and her sovereign.

The Act of Divorce being approved of by a Special Commission appointed to report upon that instrument, the marriage contract between the Emperor Napoleon and the Empress Josephine was dissolved, the Empress retaining her title and rank, with a revenue of two millions of francs. Thus was Josephine forced to abandon a dignity,

on which her gentle manners and benevolent disposition had shed considerable lustre; while Napoleon presented to the world a fresh instance of his disregard of every obligation, however sacred, that opposed his march to the pinnacle of human grandeur. He was now at liberty to connect himself by the most intimate ties with that monarch, whom he had so often brought to the verge of ruin, a union which he fondly hoped would render his arms invincible, and his throne perpetual. But the result will serve as an additional proof of the fallacious nature of all human projects, when they are not founded on the eternal principles of justice and religion.

In Great Britain, the close of the year was marked by two important occurrences, namely, a partial change of Ministry, and the solemnization of a Jubilee at the commencement of the 50th year of the reign of George III. The former event was preceded by a duel between two of the Cabinet Ministers, Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning, a circumstance peculiarly unbecoming in men whose duty it was to maintain the laws, which by this act they openly violated. For some time previous a considerable degree of coolness had subsisted between these two eminent Statesmen, the first of whom held the office of Secretary of State for War and Colonies, and the latter that of Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Mr. Canning is stated to have expressed a wish to resign unless Lord Castlereagh were removed from

an office which he considered his Lordship incompetent to fill at so critical a period. Mr. Canning was desirous of the immediate disclosure of these sentiments to Lord Castlereagh; but his colleagues, unwilling to wound the feelings of the latter, delayed the communication for several months. Various plans were suggested, and new arrangements proposed, by which these contending interests might be reconciled, but all of them were necessarily enveloped in secrecy. Mr. Canning, at length, displeased at the delay, tendered his resignation to the Duke of Portland, and it then became necessary to make a communication to Lord Castlereagh of Mr. Canning's sentiments respecting him, with the concurring opinion of the Cabinet.

His Lordship immediately sent in his resignation, and at the same time wrote a letter to Mr. Canning, in which he spoke with indignation of his secret proposal that he (Lord Castlereagh) should be removed from office, with the alternative of his (Mr. Canning's) seceding from the government, if such removal could not be effected. He acknowledged the right which Mr. Canning had, on public grounds, to make this proposal; but he considered its studied concealment from him as a breach of public faith, and he reproached him with sitting in the Cabinet, during the preparations for a most important expedition, (that to Walcheren,) on terms of apparent friendship and

cordiality with a colleague whom he was labouring to supersede. He could not consider the Duke of Portland's, or any other person's scruples respecting the delicacy of the disclosure as a justification of Mr. Canning's having practised such deception, and, under these circumstances, he required that satisfaction from him (Mr. Canning) to which he felt himself entitled to lay claim. Mr. Canning, in a short reply, expressed his willingness to give his Lordship the satisfaction he demanded. The parties met at Putney Heath on the morning of the 21st of September, and the *rencontre* terminated by Mr. Canning, at the second fire, having received the ball of his antagonist through the bone of his right thigh. Lord Castlereagh had a narrow escape, a button on the right lapel of his coat having been shot off.

The resignation of the rival Secretaries was quickly followed by that of the Duke of Portland, (the Premier,) whose character in office had been irreproachable, and, though not distinguished by the eloquence and ability of some of his colleagues, yet his conduct was evidently dictated by a sound and vigorous judgment.\* The formation of a new Cabinet being now rendered necessary, Mr. Perceval and the Earl of Liverpool were authorised by the King to treat with Lord Grenville and

\* His Grace's death occurred in a few months after his retirement from office.

Earl Grey, for the purpose of forming a combined and extended administration. But these noblemen declined the proffered coalition, alleging that their compliance would probably be unproductive of any public benefit. Lord Grenville, however, particularly declared, that in declining to enter into a treaty with the existing administration, he was actuated by no feeling of personal animosity; but as his objections applied to the principle of the government itself, and not to the persons of the Ministers, he considered such an accommodation as leading to a dereliction of public duty. The negotiation having thus completely failed, the vacant situations in the Cabinet were with some difficulty filled up, Mr. Perceval uniting in himself, as Mr. Pitt and Mr. Addington had done before him, the offices of First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. Lord Liverpool became Secretary of War and Colonies, and was succeeded in the Home Department by Mr. Ryder. Marquis Wellesley, on his return from the Embassy to Spain, became Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Lord Palmerstone at the same time, succeeded Sir James Pultney as Secretary at War.

The 25th of October 1809, was rendered memorable as the day on which George III. entered into the fiftieth year of his reign. To celebrate this auspicious event in a decorous manner, appeared to be the simultaneous wish of every individual throughout the British Empire.

Many circumstances concurred to excite so natural and so laudable a feeling.—A good Providence had extended to an unusual length the reign of a Patriot King, who had during one of the most eventful periods of British history, continually maintained the character of the friend and father of his people.—However men differed as to the wisdom of those measures which it was deemed necessary to adopt, under his government, to guard the nation against the open aggression or insidious policy of foreign enemies, or to suppress the ebullitions of domestic treason, all were agreed in their admiration of those private virtues which shed on his character a lustre of un fading brilliancy, and whose moral influence had, probably, contributed more than all the legal restrictions which it had from time to time been deemed necessary to adopt, towards checking the impetuous torrent of infidelity, sedition and vice, which threatened to sap the very foundations of some of our most ancient and most valuable institutions.

It was by common consent agreed that this great national ceremonial should be denominated "the Jubilee," in allusion to the well-known ancient festival amongst the Israelites, when at the return of the fiftieth year, all slaves were set free, and lands reverted to their former owners. A form of prayer and thanksgiving suited to the occasion was used in all churches and chapels throughout the kingdom, and the military observed

the day with the usual demonstrations of joy; but in every other respect the mode of celebration was left to the people themselves. In many places the public enthusiasm displayed itself in the usual forms of illuminations, banquets, fêtes and theatrical exhibitions: but in general the good sense of the nation turned the stream of joy into more useful channels, and numerous benevolent institutions date their foundation from that auspicious day. The venerable Sovereign himself, largely partaking with his people in the general feeling of joy and gratitude, contributed several thousand pounds to the public charities. All prisoners of war in the kingdom (with the exception of French prisoners) were set at liberty—all crown-debtors were discharged from confinement, unless the case was marked by peculiar fraud or enormity—and a free pardon was granted to all deserters from the sea or land service, who should deliver themselves up within two months. Though in the capital cities of London, Dublin, and Edinburgh, the enthusiasm of loyalty was most strikingly displayed, yet every town, village and hamlet partook of the general joy, and addresses of congratulation were presented to his Majesty from every public body in the United Kingdom.\*

\* Amongst these, one deserves particular notice, as an effusion of gratitude of a once oppressed, but now happily liberated race of men. A number of Africans resident in the city of Edinburgh presented to the Lord Provost, through the Earl of Moira, on the day of the

The Session of Parliament for 1810 was opened by Commission on the 23d of January, and the King's Speech, as usual, informed both Houses of the relation in which the country stood with foreign powers, and the principal events which had occurred since the prorogation of Parliament. The expulsion of the French from Portugal, and the victory of Talavera, were dwelt on as subjects of congratulation, while the resolution of the Spanish government to assemble the Cortes, was considered as a measure highly calculated to give fresh vigour and animation to the councils and armies of Spain, the continued support of which was strongly recommended to the Parliament. It was admitted that the principal objects of the expedition to the Scheldt had not been attained,

Jubilee, an address, in which they desired to unite with their fellow-citizens of the British Empire in offering their tribute of gratitude for the blessings which they and their countrymen had experienced during his Majesty's reign. They noticed particularly the liberty they enjoyed as inhabitants of Great Britain, the moment they landed upon her shores, and thankfully acknowledged the decisions of Courts of Justice in behalf of their countrymen resident in this kingdom, and the interest which their sufferings had excited. The abolition of the Slave Trade, the exertions of the African Society in promoting arts, knowledge, and commerce in Africa; but especially the exertions of the Bible Society in conveying the glad tidings of the Gospel to its neglected inhabitants, by the diffusion of the Holy Scripture among them, were acknowledged by expressions of thankfulness, and excited in their hearts the most ardent prayers for the welfare of their Sovereign and the prosperity of the country.

yet important advantages, materially affecting the security of his Majesty's dominions in the farther prosecution of the war, would be found to result from the demolition of the docks and arsenals at Flushing. The speech concluded by expressing a hope of the speedy restoration of a friendly intercourse between Great Britain and the United States of America, and by recommending to the attention of Parliament various matters of a domestic and financial nature.

In the House of Lords the address was moved by the Earl of Glasgow, seconded by Lord Viscount Grimstone—and in the Commons by Lord Barnard, seconded by Mr. Peel. The movers and seconders strongly supported the conduct of Ministers, notwithstanding the failure of their measures, and strenuously recommended a steady perseverance in the cause of Spain and Portugal.

These addresses did not pass without considerable opposition, and severe animadversions were made in both Houses on the manner in which Ministers had conducted the preceding campaign, which was described by many of the members as a tissue of blunders and disasters. In the House of Lords, the principal opposers of the address were Earl St. Vincent, Lord Grenville, the Earl of Moira, and Earl Grey; and their opinions on the conduct of the war during the preceding year were condensed in the following amendment which was moved by Lord Grenville, viz. "That

we have seen with the utmost sorrow and indignation the accumulated failures and disasters of the campaign, the unavailing waste of our national resources, and the loss of many thousands of our brave troops, whose distinguished and heroic valour has been unprofitably sacrificed in enterprises productive not of advantage, but of lasting injury to the country, in enterprises marked only by a repetition of former errors; tardy and uncombined; incapable in their success of aiding our ally, but exposing in their failure, his Majesty's councils to the scorn and derision of the enemy. That we therefore feel ourselves bound, with a view to the only atonement that can now be made to an injured people, to institute, without delay, such rigorous and effectual inquiries and proceedings, as duty impels us to adopt, in a case where our country has been subjected to unexampled calamity and disgrace."

The conduct of Ministers was defended principally by Lords Harrowby and Mulgrave and the Earl of Liverpool, who contended that all the measures of the government had been to a certain extent successful, and that where they had failed, that failure had arisen from obstacles of the most uncontrollable nature. By the expedition to Spain and Portugal, the latter country had been again rescued from the French, Galicia had been delivered, and the ships at Ferrol secured—the victory at Talavera had covered the British army with glory; and by the position which the British

afterwards occupied, the Spanish armies were covered in various points, and the defence of Estramadura, and in a great measure, that of La Mancha, was secured.—With respect to the expedition to the Scheldt, it was argued, that though the design, owing to unforeseen difficulties, had not been wholly accomplished, yet the hostile intention of invading England from the Low Countries had been frustrated by the demolition of the harbour and arsenals of Flushing. The reasoning of Ministers prevailing, the amendment was rejected by a majority of one hundred and forty-four to ninety-two.

In the House of Commons, Lord Gower proposed a similar amendment, which was strenuously supported by the Hon. Mr. Ward, Sir Thomas Turton, Mr. Ponsonby, General Tarleton, and Mr. Whitbread, and vigorously opposed by Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Canning, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Herbert. It was finally lost by a majority of two hundred and sixty-three to one hundred and sixty-seven.

In many of the speeches delivered during this discussion, the censures of the speakers were not only directed against the Ministry, but against Lord Wellington, who was charged, (with more precipitancy than judgment,) with being deficient in some of those qualities necessary to the important command with which he was intrusted. His conduct was represented to be the result of infatuation, and

the second campaign in Spain to be useless, expensive and destructive.—These charges were again repeated in both Houses, when a Vote of Thanks was moved to his Lordship for the victory of Talavera ; but Marquis Wellesley in a speech of great ability, placed the services of his noble relative in their true light, and proved beyond contradiction, that the victory of Talavera had saved the south of Spain from absolute destruction, and afforded time to Portugal to organize her army, and strengthen her military posts. The vote was ultimately carried in both Houses without a division.

The expedition to the Scheldt became soon after, a subject of long and serious discussion.—On the 26th of January, Lord Porchester moved in the House of Commons, that a committee be appointed to inquire into the policy and the conduct of the late expedition to the Scheldt, which was carried by a majority of one hundred and ninety-five to one hundred and eighty-six. The necessary papers were afterwards moved for and granted, and on the 19th of February, the House resolved itself into a committee for entering upon the enquiry. The investigation continued at intervals until the 21st of March, during which a great number of witnesses were examined. Lord Porchester after commenting on the evidence with considerable ability, moved a string of resolutions stating it (after a declaration of facts) as the opinion of the committee, that the expedition to

the Scheldt was undertaken under circumstances which afforded no rational hope of adequate success, and at the precise season of the year when the malignant disease which has proved so fatal to his Majesty's brave troops, was known to be most prevalent; and that the advisers of this ill-judged enterprize were, in the opinion of the House, deeply responsible for the heavy calamities with which its failure had been attended. A debate followed, which lasted four days, at the conclusion of which all Lord Porchester's resolutions were negatived by a majority of two hundred and seventy-five against two hundred and twenty-seven.

Two important occurrences arose out of this subject, which tended in a great measure to divert the public attention from the main object of the enquiry. One of these involved a serious charge against the Earl of Chatham, the Commander-in-Chief of the expedition to Walcheren: the other affected the privileges of the House of Commons, and for some time threatened important consequences. Among the papers which were laid on the table of the House, was found a narrative of the expedition, signed by Lord Chatham, which had been presented to his Majesty without the intervention of any responsible minister. Lord Folkstone called the attention of the House of Commons to this document, as it appeared to be a special address from the commander of one part of the expedition, appealing to the judgment of his

Majesty, and actually reflecting upon the conduct of his colleague in command, (Sir Richard Strachan.) Mr. Tierney declared, that this secret practice of poisoning the royal breast with doubts and suspicions of his most zealous and approved servants, while it deprived them of the knowledge, and, of course, the means of repelling them, merited impeachment, in his view of the subject. The Speaker having been called on for his opinion, whether the paper ought to be received, stated that he considered the House at full liberty to discuss the merits of the narrative, upon which the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved that it should be referred to a Committee of Inquiry, which was agreed to.

On the 23d of February, an address was moved to his Majesty, praying that he would be graciously pleased to order, that there be laid before the House, copies of all papers submitted to his Majesty at any time by the Earl of Chatham, relative to the late expedition.—The address having been carried, his Majesty informed the House that no other paper relative to the expedition had at any time been presented to him except the narrative in question. On the 2d of March, Mr. Whitbread spoke at considerable length and with great severity on Lord Chatham's conduct, and concluded by moving—That it appears to this House, that the Earl of Chatham, by private communication to his Majesty, accompanied by a desire of secrecy, did unconstitutionally abuse the

privilege of access to his Sovereign, and thereby afford an example most pernicious in its tendency to his Majesty's service, and to the general service of the state."

Amongst the defenders of Lord Chatham were General Crawford, Mr. Stephen, Mr. Banks, Mr. Johnstone, Generals Loft and Grosvenor, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the greater number contending that his conduct, though improper was by no means unconstitutional, and, at the most, that his error was a venial one. Mr. Canning, though not prepared to say, that his Lordship's conduct was not unconstitutional, expressed a wish to see the resolution modified, and submitted to the House an amendment in the following words—"That the House saw with regret, that any such communication as the narrative of Lord Chatham should have been made to his Majesty, without any knowledge of the other Ministers; that such conduct is highly reprehensible, and deserves the censure of the House."—With the consent of Mr. Whitbread this amendment was put, and carried by a majority of 221 to 128; and in consequence of this resolution, the Earl of Chatham resigned his situation as Master General of the Ordnance, in which he was succeeded by Lord Mulgrave.

The attention of the House of Commons was, at the same period, occupied by an affair which seriously affected those privileges of which they have been ever so tenacious, and for some time

excited a very lively sensation throughout the country. On the first day of the Inquiry respecting the expedition to the Scheldt, Mr. York moved the standing order for the exclusion of strangers, which was of course enforced. On the 6th of February, Mr. Sheridan argued against the propriety of investigating a subject in which the country was so deeply interested, with closed doors, and moved that the order should be referred to a committee of privileges. The motion was opposed by Mr. Windham, who denied that it was necessary for the people to be progressively informed of the debates in that House. It was little more than thirty years since it was even permitted to publish them. He did not consider the admission of strangers into the gallery a privilege, though he might perhaps, think it useful to let the practice continue, as it had prevailed so long, but there was no reason that it should be continued upon all occasions—persons of all descriptions were to be found there, bankrupts, lottery-office keepers, stock-brokers, footmen, and decayed tradesmen. He understood that the conductors of the press were willing enough to give in to corrupt misrepresentations, and he did not wish to establish such a power in the press as to enable it to controul Parliament. He asserted that the constant admission of strangers had a most mischievous tendency—no less than to change the character of a representative government, which presumed confidence in the representative body,

into that of a democracy, in which every thing was done by the people.

Lord Folkstone, Mr. Tierney, Mr. Lyttleton, and Sir Francis Burdett, argued on the opposite side, and the latter took this opportunity of animadverting with great severity on the character and constitution of the House of Commons.—If, said he, that House were a body of gentlemen fairly and freely selected by the people, he should not object to the Inquiry being conducted in secret, but unfortunately they stood before the country in circumstances of great suspicion, and it was considered by some, that in point of character, *they were on their last legs*. As for his part, he feared, that in point of reputation, *they had not a leg to stand upon*. (Here the Hon. Member was called to order by the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Speaker.) Sir Francis, after stating, that he had not made the assertion positively, said that he had not expected such delicacy from an assembly that had, last sessions, acknowledged itself contaminated, and that by an act of Parliament, (in allusion to the act against the sale of offices) nor supposed such an extreme affectation of purity, as that they must not allow their ears to hear what they were not ashamed to do.

The liberty of the press was defended by Mr. Sheridan, in reply to Mr. Windham, and after proving, with his accustomed force and perspicuity, that to it, and the unrestrained publication

of the proceedings in parliament, we were mainly indebted for the preservation of our liberties amidst the general wreck, he exclaimed with impassioned eloquence—"Give me but the liberty of the press, and I will give to the Minister a venal house of Peers—I will give him a corrupt and servile House of Commons—I will give him the full swing of the patronage of office—I will give him the whole host of ministerial influence—I will give him all the power that place can confer upon him, to purchase up submission, and overawe resistance; and yet, armed with the liberty of the press, I will go forth to meet him undismayed; I will attack with that mightier engine the mighty fabric he has raised; I will shake down from its height corruption, and bury it beneath the ruins of the abuses it was meant to shelter."—However, neither the railing of Sir Francis Burdett, nor the eloquence of Mr. Sheridan prevailed, and by a majority of 166 to 80 it was decided, that the standing order should continue in force.

But the affair did not terminate here, as it became a subject of discussion a few nights after at the British Forum, (one of those political clubs with which the metropolis abounded.) At this meeting it was unanimously decided, "that the enforcement of the standing order for shutting out strangers from the gallery of the House of Commons, ought to be censured as an insidious and ill-timed attack on the liberties of the press, as tending to aggravate the discontents of the peo-

ple, and to render their representatives objects of jealous suspicion. This decision was announced in a placard printed by Dean, 57, Wardour-street, and the following question was given in the same paper as the subject of the next debate, viz. "which was a greater outrage on the public feeling; Mr. Yorke's enforcement of the standing order to exclude strangers from the House of Commons; or Mr. Windham's recent attack on the liberty of the press."

This was complained of by Mr. Yorke, as a breach of privilege, and John Dean was ordered to attend at the bar of the House of Commons. When brought up, he declared that he had been employed to print the papers by John Gale Jones,\* the president of the club. Dean was committed to the custody of the Serjeant at Arms, but subsequently discharged at the intercession of Mr. Yorke, and Jones was ordered to attend at the bar of the House on the 21st. He appeared on the appointed day, acknowledged that he was the author of the obnoxious paper, and expressed his sincere contrition for the error he had committed. But notwithstanding this submission, the House deemed it necessary to assert its own dignity, and a vote was passed *nem. con.* that John Gale Jones

\* Mr. Jones had been a member of the Corresponding Societies from 1791 to 1794, and was a celebrated character amongst the demagogues of the day.

was guilty of a gross breach of the privileges of that House; and by a subsequent vote he was ordered to be committed to his Majesty's gaol of Newgate.

Sir Francis Burdett was prevented by indisposition from attending the House on the day when this proceeding took place; but on the 12th of March he made a motion for the discharge of Mr. Jones, prefacing it by a speech, in which, with his usual vehemence, he denied the authority which the House had in this instance assumed. He drew a distinction between the privileges which the House of Commons enjoyed, and those which it possessed in conjunction with the other House of Parliament; and on this ground maintained that the imprisonment of John Gale Jones was an infringement of the law of the land, and a subversion of the principles of the Constitution. He considered it a question, whether the House of Commons had a right to imprison a person, not a member of that House, for an offence punishable by the ordinary course of law—they possessed privilege only as a shield to themselves, not as a scourge to others; and this, he said, had been the usual nature of their privileges, till the encroachment of a despotic prince had compelled the House of Commons to assume power, the exercise of which abolished the House of Lords, brought the King to the block, and ultimately dissolved the whole frame of the government. He then asserted, that these surely were not sources

sufficiently clear, nor the times sufficiently analogous, to countenance similar proceedings under a legal, settled, and established system.

Upon this occasion the members at both sides united in repelling the attack of the Hon. Baronet on the privileges of the House of Commons; and proofs of the most indisputable nature were adduced to shew, that the House had exercised the power of commitment prior to the Long Parliament. Lord Folkstone, Mr. Sheridan, and many other opposition members declared their willingness to vote for the release of Mr. Jones, but not on the principles contained in the Hon. Baronet's speech, and on a division there appeared to be only fourteen for the motion, while one hundred and fifty-three voted against it.

On the 24th, the speech delivered by Sir Francis Burdett upon this occasion was published under his sanction, having prefixed to it a letter to his constituents, in which he informed them, that he had adopted this method of laying before them in a more full and connected way than could possibly be done by parliamentary reporters, the arguments by which he had endeavoured to convince the gentlemen of the House of Commons, that their acts in the case of Mr. Jones, were illegal. This publication was brought under the notice of the House of Commons and Sir Francis Burdett acknowledged himself to be the author. On the following day, Mr. Lethbridge, after a short speech, in which he pointed out some of the most

obnoxious passages in the letter and argument,\* moved that the said document was a libellous and scandalous paper, reflecting upon the just rights and privileges of this House, and that Sir Francis Burdett, who suffered the above articles to be printed with his name and by his authority, has been guilty of a violation of the privileges of this House.

The motion was discussed on the 28th, and again on the 5th of April, and the resolutions were carried without a division. Sir Robert Salusbury then moved for the commitment of Sir Francis Burdett to the Tower. This was met by

\* The passages to which the Hon. Member alluded were as follow :

“ The House of Commons having passed a vote which amounts to a declaration, that an order of their's is to be of more importance than *Magna Charta* and the laws of the land, I think it my duty to lay my sentiments thereon before my constituents, whose character as freemen, and even whose personal safety, depend, in a great degree, on the decision of this question; a question of no less importance than this—whether our liberty be still to be secured by the laws of our forefathers, or to lie at the absolute mercy of a part of our fellow-subjects, *collected together by means which it is not necessary for me to describe.*”

“ If they, (the House of Commons) have the absolute power of imprisoning and releasing, why may they not send their prisoners to York gaol as well as to a gaol in London? Why not confine men in solitary cells, or load them with chains or bolts? They have not gone these lengths yet. But what is to restrain them, if they are to be sole judges of the extent of their own powers, and if they are to exercise those powers without any controul, and

an amendment, that Sir Francis Burdett be reprimanded in his place—upon which the House divided, when there appeared Ayes 152—Noes 190. The original motion was then put and carried.

The vote was passed on the morning of the 6th of April, and the Speaker's warrant of commitment was very soon after delivered to the Serjeant at Arms, Mr. Coleman, with directions to carry it into effect; if possible, by ten o'clock on the same morning. Sir Francis being absent from town, Mr. Coleman did not see him till five o'clock in the afternoon, when the Baronet told him that he would be ready to receive him at eleven o'clock

without leaving the parties whom they choose to punish any mode of appeal, any means of redress?

“By proceeding thus, they may have exercised a jurisdiction not vested in them; a jurisdiction beyond the limits of king, lords and commons, while Magna Charta remains unrepealed; and repealed it never can be till England shall have found her grave in the corruption of the House of Commons.”

“But no wonder, when they have so entirely departed from the ends of their institution, as was offered to be proved by Mr. Maddocks, and acknowledged by themselves in the never-to-be forgotten morning of the 11th of May, 1809, when from being the lower, or inferior, (for it is the same sense, one being an English, and the other a Latin word) branch of the legislature, they have become, by burgage tenure, the proprietors of the whole representation, and in that capacity, inflated with these high-flown fanciful ideas of majesty, and tricked out in the trappings of royalty, think privilege and protection beneath their dignity, assume the sword of prerogative, and lord it equally over the king and the people.”

next morning, and that in the mean time he would write to the Speaker. The Serjeant-at-Arms returned to the house of Sir Francis at eight o'clock, accompanied by one of the messengers, and informed the Baronet that he had been severely reprimanded by the Speaker, for not executing the warrant, which he now read for him. To this Sir Francis Burdett replied, that neither his allegiance to the king, nor his respect for the laws would permit him to yield a voluntary submission to a warrant which he considered illegal. He would only submit, he said, to an overwhelming force, and he ordered Mr. Coleman immediately to leave his house, which mandate was instantly obeyed.

Crowds had assembled near the Baronet's house in Piccadilly, as soon as the vote had passed the House of Commons, and they continued to increase hourly both in number and audacity. Every passenger was forced to take off his hat, and cry "Burdett for ever."—The windows of many houses were broken, including those of some of his Majesty's Ministers. The tumult at length became so serious, that it was deemed necessary to read the riot act, and parties of horse and foot were called out to suppress the commotion. Some shots were fired at each side, and a few both of the military and the populace were slightly wounded.

It now became apparent that the Speaker's warrant could only be executed by force; but the

Serjeant-at-Arms had serious doubts whether he was authorized by the instrument under which he acted, to break open the doors of the Baronet's house, which were said to be strongly barricaded. The Attorney-General was consulted, but having no precedent to guide him, he spoke rather inconclusively on the subject—yet reasoning from analogy, he conceived the doors might be forced without a violation of the law, if they were not opened to the Serjeant after he had declared the cause of his coming. On this opinion Mr. Coleman was under the necessity of acting, and between ten and eleven on the morning of the 9th of April, he appeared before the Baronet's house, attended by a number of peace-officers and a party of cavalry and infantry.

Admission being denied in any other way, Mr. Coleman with some peace-officers, forced a passage by the area into the kitchen, and having entered the room where Sir Francis was sitting with his family and Mr. Roger O'Connor, Mr. Coleman politely informed him, that he was his prisoner and that resistance was vain,\* upon which, after

\* A narrative of the commitment of Sir Francis Burdett to the Tower was published, in which is given the following statement of the conversation which took place between the Baronet and the Serjeant-at-Arms at the time of his arrest:

*Serjeant.*—"Sir Francis, you are my prisoner."

*Sir Francis.*—"By what authority do you act, Mr. Serjeant?"

the Baronet again protested against the illegality of the warrant, Mr. Jones Burdett and Mr. O'Connor conducted him to the carriage, which proceeded rapidly under a strong escort to the Tower.

The great popularity of the Baronet pointed out the necessity of using the greatest precautions for the preservation of the public peace, during his progress to the Tower. Two troops of life-guards, and two squadrons of the 15th light dragoons, with a magistrate at their head, pre-

By what power, Sir, have you broken into my house, in violation of the laws of the land?"

*Serjeant.*—"Sir Francis, I am authorized by the warrant of Mr. Speaker of the House of Commons."

*Sir Francis.*—"I contest the authority of such a warrant. Exhibit to me the legal warrant upon which you have dared to violate my house. Where is the sheriff? Where is the magistrate?" (At this time there was no magistrate, but he soon afterwards appeared.)

*Serjeant.*—"Sir Francis, my authority is in my hand—I will read it to you: it is the warrant of the Right Honourable the Speaker of the House of Commons." (And here says the narrative, Mr. Coleman attempted to read the warrant, but which he did with great trepidation.,

*Sir Francis.*—"I repeat to you, that it is no sufficient warrant. No—not to arrest my person in the open street—much less to break open my house in violation of all law. If you have a warrant from his Majesty, or from a proper officer of the King, I will pay instant obedience to it; but I will not yield to an illegal order."

*Serjeant.*—"Sir Francis, I demand you to yield, in the name of the Commons House of Parliament, and I trust you will not

ceded the carriage, and it was followed by strong bodies of cavalry, and two battalions of foot-guards. The early hour at which the arrest took place had prevented the assemblage of the expected concourse in the neighbourhood of Piccadilly, but as soon as the carriage had passed Albemarle-street, a cry was set up—"They have taken him, they have dragged him out of his house!" An immense multitude was now quickly collected, who followed the cavalcade, and it

compel me to use force. I entreat you to believe that I wish to shew you every respect."

*Sir Francis*.—"I tell you, distinctly, that I will not voluntarily submit to an unlawful order; and I demand, in the King's name, and in the name of the laws, that you forthwith retire from my house."

*Serjeant*.—"Then, Sir, I must call in assistance, and force you to yield."

Upon which the constables laid hold on Sir Francis. Mr. Jones Burdett and Mr. O'Connor immediately stepped up, and each took him under an arm. The constables closed in on all three, and drew them down stairs.

Sir Francis then said :—"I protest in the King's name against this violation of my person and my house. It is superior force only that hurries me out of it, and you do it at your peril."

Besides the two gentlemen already mentioned, there were present during the whole scene, Lady Burdett, the Countess of Guilford, Ladies Maria, Jane, and Georgiana North, Mrs. Coutts, and the Baronet's eldest son, then a youth of fourteen, whom the father, at the moment of Mr. Coleman's entrance, was employed in hearing read and translate Magna Charta.

increased to such a degree, as to block up the Minories, and all the streets in the vicinity of the Tower.—They uttered cries of ‘Burdett for ever!’ but no attempt was made to rescue the prisoner, who was received at the Tower-gate with the usual formalities, the Tower-guns being fired, as was the custom upon similar occasions.

A report was now circulated, that the cannon of the Tower had fired on the people, which was credited by numbers, and on the return of the military through East-Cheap, they were assailed by showers of stones, brick-bats and mud, which they endured for a considerable time with great patience and coolness. The audacity of the assailants, however, seeming to increase by this forbearance, the troops fired some shots, by which two persons lost their lives, and six were wounded.

A letter which Sir Francis Burdett had written to the Speaker, became a subject of discussion in the House of Commons on the 9th. It disclaimed all voluntary obedience to a set of men, who, he said, had illegally assumed the whole power of the realm, and that he would eagerly accept of the meanest office to get out of such an association. In the debate which ensued, all parties in the House agreed in the condemnation of this letter, as a gross aggravation of the original offence ;\*

\* In the speech delivered by Mr. Lyttleton upon this occasion, he is stated to have said, that amongst the various grounds of com-

and it was unanimously resolved, " That it is the opinion of this House, that the said letter is a high and flagrant breach of the privileges of the House; but it appearing from the report of the Serjeant-at-Arms, attending the House, that the warrant of the Speaker for the commitment of Sir F. Burdett to the Tower, has been executed, this House will not, at this time, proceed further

plaint which he had against the Hon. Baronet, he could not pass over his implied promise to the Serjeant-at-Arms to accompany him to the Tower. He had lived on terms of friendship with that Hon. Baronet. But this was an act so wholly unworthy of him, that he must for ever abjure him, either as a private or political friend. Another ground of complaint, on his part, against Sir Francis was, that from the first to the last moment of his obstinate and unconstitutional resistance, he had been attended in his house by the brother of a notorious and avowed traitor. He did not mean, by any means to say, that Mr. Roger O'Connor was a traitor. But if, what was impossible, he had been in the situation of Sir Francis Burdett, he should not have associated with any man liable to wear a shadow of suspicion. He should not have been attended by the brother of Arthur O'Connor, that vile traitor, who employed himself in writing in a paper, published in the English language at Paris, the most foul, false, and scandalous libels upon the English Government and nation: a paper printed in the English language, no doubt, with a view to be circulated for the dissemination of his sedition and treason in these realms. Was it by the introduction of foreign libels and treasons that the liberty or public spirit of this country was to be asserted or animated? All such proceedings from the honourable Baronet he should, from the bottom of his heart, disclaim, and he was determined to oppose him in every instance.

on the said letter." Contrary to the anxious wish of the Baronet, the letter was not entered on the journals.

The sensation excited both in the metropolis and throughout the country by the commitment of Sir Francis Burdett was not of momentary duration. An approbatory address was presented to him by his constituents, the Electors of Westminster, and their example was followed by the Livery-men of London, who went in pompous procession to the Tower, headed by Mr. Sheriff Wood. Petitions were, at the same time, presented to the House of Commons from the Electors of Westminster and Middlesex and the Livery of London, demanding the liberation of the Baronet, and urging the necessity of a Reform of Parliament; but they were couched in language so disrespectful, and contemptuous, that they were rejected by the House. A second petition from the Livery of London drawn up in terms less offensive was received; as were those from several counties, cities and boroughs throughout England. They produced, however, no effect on the resolution which the House had taken up of defending to the last extremity, their constitutional privileges, and Sir Francis Burdett remained a prisoner in the Tower till the close of the Session, which took place on the 21st of June.

Great preparations were made by the numerous partizans of the Baronet to attend him on his liberation in triumphal procession, and the plan of

the ceremonial was announced in the news-papers. The streets were thronged at an early hour in the morning, and bodies of men wearing blue cockades, and preceded by banners and bands of music, were seen repairing to their various places of rendezvous. Scaffolds were erected in the line of the procession, and waggons, teams, and carts, were filled with persons of both sexes, and of every age, to catch a glimpse of the man, whom they were taught to consider the martyr of liberty and the champion of their rights. At two o'clock about three hundred men on horse-back, amongst whom were Major Cartwright and Colonel Hanger, arrived on Tower-hill, where they were loudly cheered by the populace. They waited with the greatest anxiety for the moment of the prorogation of Parliament, which would set the prisoner free. But their disappointment was extreme, when a few minutes after that event had taken place, it was announced that the Baronet had taken his departure by water. Mr. Gale Jones, however, who had been the original cause of all this commotion, arrived from Newgate in time to take his place in the procession, which it was determined to conduct to Piccadilly, though the principal personage had retired from the honours intended for him. The multitude accordingly moved towards Piccadilly, decorated with blue sashes and ribbons, and preceded by horsemen and trumpeters. Mr. Gale Jones was in a hackney-coach in the midst of the cavalcade, and

when it arrived at Piccadilly, he mounted the roof, and harangued the people for some time on the grievances he had suffered.\* A general illumination took place in the evening.

The conduct of Sir Francis Burdett on the day of his liberation met the disapprobation of many of his friends, and two members of the Westminster Committee waited upon him for an explanation; upon which the Baronet stated, that as his enemies had basely charged him with the blood that had been shed on the day of his commitment, it would have ever been matter of painful reflection to him, if a single accident was occasioned by the gratification of his personal vanity. He replied to the question, why he did not make his determination known, by saying, that an expression of the public sentiment was absolutely necessary, and that his being in the procession could not have added thereto. These answers, however, were not considered generally satisfactory, as the expression

\* Mr. Jones is said to have complained both of being *illegally imprisoned, and illegally turned out of prison*. Having frequently alleged his right to a trial, his keepers were apprehensive, that he would not quit his quarters in Newgate peaceably, they resorted therefore to a stratagem, and as soon as the prorogation of Parliament was announced, one of the turnkeys informed Mr. Jones that a gentleman wished to speak to him at the lobby-door. Mr. Jones was no sooner outside the door than the wicket was barred against him, and all his entreaties for re-admission were in vain—*Ottridge's Annual Register*.

of public sentiment which he approved of was as liable to those accidents which he appeared to dread, as if he had formed one of the cavalcade. It was accordingly remarked, that he exposed his friends but not himself, as he had not previously announced his intention of not appearing in public upon that occasion.

Rash and ill-planned attempts against the established order of things in any country, generally end in the defeat of the agitators, and the confirmation of that authority which is thus assailed. Such was the termination of the famous contest between Sir Francis Burdett and the House of Commons. Unable to obtain that redress from Parliament, to which he conceived himself entitled, he commenced actions at law against the Speaker of the House of Commons, the Serjeant-at-Arms, and the Earl of Moira, as governor of the Tower. These actions were tried in the Court of King's Bench, and the Judges declared that the privileges of Parliament were not cognizable in a court of law, but were to be considered part of the laws of the land; a decision which added considerable strength to the claims of the House of Commons, by giving to them a judicial recognition.

The supplies voted during this Session of Parliament amounted to £52,185,000. The annual questions on Catholic Emancipation, and a Reform in Parliament were again discussed with the usual results, and the remaining business of

the Session related wholly to subjects of a domestic nature.\*

\* A few days before the prorogation of Parliament the House of Commons was deprived of one of its brightest ornaments by the death of the Right Honourable William Windham. Mr. Windham was in his sixty-first year, having been born at Felbrigge-hall in Norfolk, where his ancestors had resided for many generations, in the year 1750. He received the early part of his education at Eton School. In 1766 he was removed to the University of Glasgow, where he resided in the house of Doctor Anderson, Professor of Natural Philosophy; and in the following year, he became a Gentleman Commoner of University College, Oxford, under the tutorship of Sir Robert Chambers. In youth he was distinguished by a diligent application to his studies, the most honourable conduct, and a frank and graceful address. His thirst for knowledge and love of enterprize, prompted him to embark at the age of twenty-three, with his friend Lord Mulgrave, on his voyage towards the North Pole; but he suffered so much by sea sickness, that on the coast of Norway, he was forced to abandon his intention. In 1778 he was appointed Major of the Norfolk Militia, and about the same period became a Member of the Literary Club, founded by Doctor Johnson and Sir Joshua Reynolds. In 1783 he filled the office of Chief Secretary of Ireland. He entered Parliament in 1782, as Member for Norwich, and from that period till 1793 he generally voted with the Opposition, though he was never considered a party man. At that period he professed his agreement with Mr. Burke, for whose virtues and talents he had the highest veneration, respecting the nature and tendency of the French Revolution, and united with Lord Spencer and the Duke of Portland in joining the Administration under Mr. Pitt. He accepted, in 1794, the Office of Secretary at War with a seat in the Cabinet, and filled that post with distinguished reputation till 1801, when Mr. Pitt and his colleagues resigned their offices. During the short administra-

Some important colonial acquisitions were made this year by the British arms both in the Eastern

tion of Lord Grenville in 1806, Mr. Windham filled the important station of Secretary for the War Department; and in the Session of Parliament for that year, he carried into a law his celebrated plan for the limited service of persons enlisting in the regular army, a measure which must ever endear his memory to British soldiers.

The circumstances which occasioned and attended the death of this illustrious man, were calculated to excite the public interest in a very high degree, as arising from the exertion of that gallantry of spirit which through life had prompted him to the performance of duty, regardless of the consequences. Passing through Conduit-street about twelve o'clock at night, on the 8th of July 1809, he saw a house on fire. Urged by the same feeling which on a former occasion, had excited him to the most heroic efforts to save a part of the venerable Abbey of Westminster, he hastened to the spot. Finding that the house of his friend the Honourable Frederick North, who had lately gone abroad, was in danger by the devouring element, he directed his attention to the preservation of his valuable library, and he continued for four hours under the rain and the playing of the fire engines; and before the house took fire, he succeeded in rescuing four-fifths of the books from destruction. During their removal some heavy volumes fell, by which Mr. Windham received a slight contusion in the hip. So little did the accident affect him, that for some months he scarcely ever mentioned it. However, an indolent incysted tumour began to form in the injured part, and in the month of May of the following year, it had so increased as to render surgical advice necessary. Mr. Windham's life was now pronounced to be in danger unless the tumour was cut out. He resolved, with the greatest courage and resignation, to submit to the painful operation, having previously settled his affairs, and received the

and Western Hemisphere. During the preceding summer, Lord Minto's project for clearing the

sacrament from the hands of Doctor Fisher. The operation was successfully performed on the 18th of May, but appearances of an unpropitious nature quickly followed. A morbid ichor appeared, attended with a general inflammation, and with two abscesses; and the wound never suppurated. A fever was the necessary consequence, which terminated his valuable life on the 14th of June. Never was more intense anxiety manifested through every class in the metropolis, than during the period of Mr. Windham's illness. His hall was daily visited by hundreds of sympathizing enquirers. His venerable sovereign manifested extreme interest on the melancholy occasion, and he pronounced on him this fine eulogy, that he was 'a genuine patriot, and an honest man.'

The following summary of Mr. Windham's character appeared in a periodical publication of the day, and seems to be drawn with justice and accuracy:—"The genius and talents of this illustrious statesman are well known and universally acknowledged. He was unquestionably the most distinguished man of the present time, and not inferior, in any respect, to the most admired character of the age that is just gone by. He had been in his earlier years a very diligent student, and an excellent Greek and Latin scholar. In his latter years, like Burke and Johnson, he was an excursive reader, but gathered a great variety of knowledge from different books, and by occasionally mixing, like them, with very various classes and descriptions of men. His memory was most tenacious. In his parliamentary speeches his principal object was always to convince the understanding by irrefragable argument, which he, at the same time, enlivened by a profusion of imagery, drawn sometimes from the most abstruse parts of science; but oftener from the most familiar objects of common life. But what gave a peculiar lustre to whatever he urged, was his known and uniform integrity, and a firm conviction in the breasts of his hearers, that he always uttered the genuine and disinterested sentiments of his

Indian Ocean of the enemies of Britain had been successfully commenced by the destruction of the

heart. His language, both in writing and speaking, was always simple, and he was extremely fond of idiomatic phrases, which he thought greatly contributed to preserve the purity of our language. He surveyed every subject of importance with a philosophic eye, and was thence enabled to discover and detect latent mischief, concealed under the plausible appearance of public advantage. Hence all the clamourers for undefined and imaginary liberty, and all those who meditated the subversion of the Constitution, under the pretext of reform, [shrank from his grasp; and persons of this description were his only enemies. But his dauntless intrepidity, and his noble disdain of vulgar popularity, held up a shield against their malice; and no fear of consequences ever drove him from that manly and honourable course which the rectitude and purity of his mind induced him to pursue. As an orator, he was simple, elegant, prompt, and graceful. His genius was so fertile, and his reading so extensive, that there were few subjects, on which he could not instruct, amuse, and persuade. He was frequently (as has justly been observed) at once entertaining and abstruse, drawing illustrations promiscuously from familiar life, and the recondite parts of science; nor was it unusual to hear him through three adjoining sentences, in the first witty, in the second metaphysical, and in the last scholastic!! But his eloquence derived its principle power from the quickness of his apprehension, and the philosophical profundity of his mind. Of this, his speech on Mr. Carwen's bill (May 1809) is an eminent instance; for it unquestionably contains more moral and political wisdom than is found in any similar performance which has appeared since the death of Mr. Burke, and may be placed on the same platform with the most admired productions of that distinguished orator. In private life no man, perhaps, of any age, had a greater number of zealous friends and admirers. In addition to his extraordinary talents and accomplishments, the grace and

French batteries at St. Paul's, in the Isle of Bourbon; and his Lordship now resolved to attempt the completion of a plan, which had been hitherto deemed impracticable. Two distinct expeditions were accordingly prepared for the purpose of attempting the capture of the Island of Bourbon, and the Mauritius, or Isle of France. —The first of these was placed under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Keating, who had achieved the destruction of the batteries at St. Paul's during the preceding year, and was composed of one thousand eight hundred Europeans of the 56th, 69th, and 86th regiments, with some light troops, and one thousand eight hundred and fifty native troops. The naval part of the service

happiness of his address and manner gave an irresistible charm to his conversation: and few, it is believed, of either sex, (for his address to the ladies was inimitably elegant and graceful) ever parted from his society without regret. His brilliant imagination, his various knowledge, his acuteness, his good taste, his wit, his dignity of sentiment, and his gentleness of manner, (for he was never loud and intemperate) made him universally admired and respected. To crown all these virtues and accomplishments, it may be added, that he fulfilled all the duties of life, the lesser as well as the greater, with the most scrupulous attention; and was always particularly ardent in vindicating the cause of oppressed merit. But his best eulogy is the general sentiment of sorrow which agitated every bosom on the sudden and unexpected stroke which terminated in his death."

Mr. Windham was married in 1798 to Cecilia, a daughter of the late Commodore Forest, but left no issue.

was conducted by Commodore Rowley, who, in his Majesty's ship *Boadicea* anchored on the 24th of June, off Fort Duncan, in the Island of Roderiguez. The point of rendezvous was fixed at fifty miles to the windward of the Isle of Bourbon : but owing to unfavourable weather, the armament could not reach it till four o'clock in the evening of the 6th of July. The most judicious arrangements were now made by Commodore Rowley for effecting a landing, and the troops were removed from the transports to the frigates,\* which quickly stood for the points of debarkation.

As the interior of the country was almost inaccessible to an invading army, Colonel Keating, to avoid the hazard of protracted hostilities, determined to strike the first blow at St. Dennis, the capital, and thus by securing the principal garrison, and the person of the governor, insure the reduction of the island. For this object, the 1st brigade, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Frazer, and composed of his Majesty's 86th regiment, the 6th Madras native infantry, and a small detachment of artillery, was ordered to land at Grand Chaloupe, and to proceed by the mountains to the west side of St. Dennis, while the three other brigades under Lieutenants-Colonel

\* The frigates were, the *Boadicea*, Commodore Rowley, the *Syrius*, Captain Pym, *Iphigenia*, Captain Lambert, *Magicienne*, Captain Curtis, and *Nereide*, Captain Willoughby.

Campbell, Drummond and Macleod, were to land at Riviere des Pluies, and after forcing the lines of defence to cross the rear of the town to the river of St. Dennis. About three or four hundred men under Lieutenant-Colonels Macleod and Campbell effected a landing at four o'clock on the evening of the 7th, but at that moment the wind arose with unusual violence, and raised the surf to such a height, that several boats were stove on the beach, and the landing of more troops that evening became impracticable. Colonel Keating now became extremely anxious respecting Lieutenant Colonel Macleod's detachment, with whom all communication was cut off; but Lieutenant Foulstone of the 69th, volunteering to swim through the surf, he conveyed orders to the detachment to take possession of St. Marie for the night, which was carried into effect in the most judicious manner.

The remainder of the army landed on the following morning, and the various duties allotted to the different brigades were executed in the most prompt and gallant manner. Lieutenant Colonel Frazer with the 1st brigade, maintained his position to the west of St. Dennis with the greatest firmness, till the 2d brigade under Lieutenant Colonel Drummond, arrived to his support; while Captain Hanna, with two companies of the 56th, took by assault the batteries of La Possessime. The Commander-in-Chief, having again crossed the heights with part of the 3d and 4th brigades,

made arrangements for a general attack on the capital about four o'clock in the evening; but this was happily prevented by an offer on the part of the enemy to surrender the island upon honourable terms. This was readily accepted, and the garrison became prisoners of war. Colonel St. Susanne, the governor, was permitted to return to France on his parole. One hundred and forty-five pieces of cannon, and a great quantity of stores were found in the towns of St. Dennis and St. Paul; and thus, through the judgment and promptitude with which these operations were conducted by the commanders in both services, was this valuable colony, containing a population of one hundred thousand souls, wrested from the enemy in a few hours, with the comparatively trifling loss on the part of the conquerors of eighteen men killed and seventy-nine wounded.

A serious disaster occurred in the month of August to the greater part of the squadron which had been engaged in this enterprize. On the 23d the *Sirius*, *Magicienne*, *Nereide*, and *Iphigenia* frigates, under the command of Captain Pym, determined to attack the harbour of Sud-Est, opposite to the Isle of Passe, into which two British East Indiamen had been taken by three French frigates. The pilots being unacquainted with the coast, the *Sirius* and *Magicienne* were stranded among shoals, and the crews, after burning them, returned in the *Iphigenia* to the Isle of Passe. The *Nereide* was also stranded

near the inner harbour; but though exposed to the fire of the three French frigates as well as the batteries on shore, the brave Captain Willoughby did not surrender till every man on board was either killed or wounded. The *Iphigenia* also fell into the enemy's hands, with the *Isle of Passe*.

General Decaen, the Governor of the *Isle of France*, gave a pompous account of this conquest, and a plan was laid for recovering the *Island of Bourbon*; but his triumph was of short duration, as the blockade was resumed in the month of October by Vice-Admiral Bertie, and a formidable British armament arrived soon after for the attack of the island. The land forces destined for this expedition\* amounted to eight or ten thousand men collected from India, the *Isle of Bourbon*, and the *Cape of Good Hope*. The military command was conferred on Major-General the Hon. John Abercromby, (son of the revered Sir Ralph) who, on his passage was taken prisoner by a French squadron, but he was speedily re-captured by Commodore Rowley.† The naval force consisted

\* The army was composed of his Majesty's 12th, 14th, 22d, 33d, 56th, 59th, 84th, 87th, and 89th, regiments, Madras and Bengal volunteers, detachments of Bombay native infantry, &c. &c. They were formed into six brigades, commanded by Lieutenants Colonel Picton, Gibbs, Kelso, Keating, Macleod, and Smyth.

† General Abercromby was taken in the *Ceylon*, and the


of the *Illustrious*, *Russel*, *Africaine* and *Cornwallis*, men-of-war, with several frigates, and by the 21st of November, the several divisions of troops, with the exception of that from the Cape, had arrived at Rodriguez, the general point of rendezvous.

The greatest difficulty which had ever opposed itself to an attack upon the Isle of France with a sufficient force, was the supposed impossibility of being able to find anchorage for a fleet of transports, owing to the reefs which surround the coast on every side: but by the exertions of Commodore Rowley, aided by Lieutenant Blackiston of the Madras Engineers, and some other intelligent officers, it was discovered that a fleet might anchor between the Island called the Gunner's Choir and the main-land, and that the opening in the reef at this place would admit several boats to enter a-breast.

Though the troops from the Cape had not

*Africaine* frigate shared the same fate. The French Commodore told the General, that he should have the honour of introducing him rather sooner than he expected to M. De Caen, the Governor of the French island. But these vessels being re-captured in a few hours with the French Commodore's ship the *Venus*, by Commodore Rowley, General Abercrombie thanked the Commodore for his intention, and said he felt extremely happy to have it in his power to return the compliment by introducing him to Commodore Rowley.

arrived, the advanced season of the year, and the threatening appearance of the weather, prompted the British Commanders to proceed immediately on the expedition, and at day-light on the 22d, the fleet, consisting of nearly seventy sail, weighed anchor, and bore up for the Isle of France. They arrived in sight of the island on the 28th, and on the following day, Major-General Warde, with the reserve and grenadier company of the 59th regiment, landed, without opposition in the Bay of Mapon. The great object of General Abercrombie, was to press towards Port Louis, the capital, and as soon as a sufficient number of Europeans were formed, they were ordered immediately to move forward through a thick wood which lay on their route, before the enemy should have time to occupy it. No obstacle was presented to this movement, except a few shots from a small picquet, by which Lieutenant-Colonel Keating of the 56th, Lieutenant Ash, of the 12th, and some men were wounded. General Abercrombie had determined not to halt till he arrived before Port Louis; but the troops became so exhausted by their exertions and the want of water, that he was compelled to take up a position at Moulin a Poudre, five miles from the town. The main-body was attacked soon after it had moved from its ground, by a corps of the enemy, who had taken up a strong position, with several field pieces; but the advanced-guard, composed of the



European flank-battalion under Colonel Campbell, of the 33d, charged them with so much spirit, that they were compelled to retire with the loss of their guns, and of many men killed and wounded. Two valuable British officers, Colonel Campbell of the 33d, and Major O'Keefe of the 12th, fell in this action.

Every obstacle to the farther progress of the troops being now removed, the army on the 1st of December, was enabled to occupy a position in front of the enemy's lines. Arrangements were immediately adopted for a general attack, but this was happily rendered unnecessary by the arrival of proposals to capitulate from General De Caen.—The late period of the season, and his humane wish to spare the lives of many brave officers and men induced General Abercrombie to grant De Caen's demand, that the garrison should not be detained prisoners of war. The Governor also demanded permission to retain four frigates and a corvette, and that all property belonging to the Emperor of France should be carefully preserved, and restored at the termination of the war: but these stipulations were declared by the British Commander inadmissible.

In the ports of the island were found five frigates, some smaller vessels, and thirty merchantmen, including the Ceylon, and Windham, the two British Indiamen which had been lately captured by the enemy. Two hundred and nine

pieces of ordnance were found in the different batteries throughout the island; and with these an immense quantity of stores and valuable merchandize was surrendered to the British. The casualties of the victors amounted to twenty-nine killed and one hundred and forty-four wounded, in achieving a conquest, the importance of which may be estimated in some degree, if the assertion be true, that the insurance offices of Bengal alone, lost three millions sterling by captures, during the ten months preceding the surrender of the islands. The French were soon after this driven from their settlements on the coast of Madagascar, and at the commencement of the following year they did not possess a foot of territory in India, nor a ship in the Indian Ocean.

Hostilities were carried on with equal success against the Dutch colonies in this quarter of the globe. In the month of February a spirited attack was made on the valuable settlement of Amboyna, by a British squadron under the command of Captain Tucker. Since the restoration at the Peace of Amiens, several new batteries had been erected for the protection of the fort and anchorage of Victoria, and Portuguese Bay, but these proved unavailing against the judicious arrangements of Captain Tucker, and the gallant manner in which they were carried into effect.

On the 16th, four hundred troops and seamen

under the command of Captain Court were landed a little to the right of Portuguese Bay ; the shipping immediately commenced an attack upon the fort and batteries, while the troops and seamen with the greatest intrepidity, stormed the heights which commanded the bay. During the night some guns were drawn up with great labour to the heights, which compelled the enemy to abandon two of his batteries, and gave to the assailants so decided an advantage that the island and its dependencies immediately capitulated. Seven armed ships and forty-seven sail of merchant vessels, many of them richly laden, were at Amboyna. This conquest deserves to be ranked amongst the most brilliant efforts of British skill and bravery, fertile as our annals have been of examples of the most daring intrepidity. The enemy possessed a formidable line of defence, manned by more than fifteen hundred men, Europeans and natives, who were further strengthened by the aid of the Dutch inhabitants and burghers ; while the force of the British consisted of only three hundred seamen, and a small detachment of the Madras European regiment ; yet, when well commanded, they proved invincible.

Similar bravery was crowned with equal success by the capture of Banda, the chief of the Dutch Spice Islands, which, on the 8th of August, surrendered to Captain Cole of the Caroline

frigate and one hundred and eighty British seamen. Scaling-ladders were placed, during a heavy rain against Fort Belgia, at Banda Neira, the guns of which fortunately burnt priming. The garrison were panic-struck and fled, leaving their commandant and ten men killed. A shot was fired from the fort by the British, who threatened to storm the town and Fort Nassau, (which were both commanded by the guns,) unless prevented by an immediate and unconditional surrender. This had the desired effect, and seven hundred regular troops with three hundred militia laid down their arms. Four hundred thousand pounds worth of spices fell into the hands of the captors.\*

\* As the British Government has wisely retained possession of the islands of Bourbon and France (or the Mauritius,) these conquests must prove permanently advantageous. Our commerce had materially suffered from the French cruizers issuing from the Mauritius, the East India Company annually incurring immense losses by captures, whilst the British interest was much injured by the intrigues of the enemy in the Red Sea and the Persian Gulph. The happy subjugation of these islands, which had been hitherto looked on as a matter of very questionable probability, is principally to be attributed to the earnest representations of Colonel Keating to the government on the practicability of the measure, and his active efforts to insure its success. In the preceding year this able and intelligent officer took possession of the Island of Rodriguez, about one hundred leagues east of the Mauritius with a small force, and the capture of three British Indiamen which

Lord Minto, the Governor General of India, acquired just applause for the wisdom which planned these various expeditions, and the promptitude with which he had them carried into effect. In the preceding year he had been equally successful

were carried into St. Paul's, induced him, in conjunction with Commodore Rowley, to undertake the successful expedition against that place, which has been recorded in our history of that period. The conquerors were amply rewarded upon this occasion, as they obtained possession of much public property, the cargoes of the captured Indiamen alone being valued at three millions of dollars. Colonel Keating, after this, continued at Rodriguez, acquiring all possible information towards facilitating the conquests of the French islands, until those expeditions were fitted out, which ended, we trust, in their perpetual annexation to the British crown. The Isle of France was originally colonized by the Dutch, by whom it was called the Mauritius. The incursions of run-away slaves, whom the cruelty of their masters had converted into enemies, compelled the first settlers to abandon the island in 1712,—and they were speedily replaced by some French from the Isle of Bourbon. The horrors attendant upon the slave-traffic were never carried to a greater height than in those islands, and for near two centuries, their neighbourhood had been the curse of Madagascar, the French settlements along that coast being so many nests of slave-dealers, who were continually exciting war amongst the different tribes. The Mauritius was valued by France more as a naval and military station, than as a commercial colony. Its population may be rated at 70 or 80,000, five-sixths of whom are slaves. Port Louis, the capital, is said to contain 6000 houses. Bourbon is the larger Island of the two, and extremely fertile; its annual agricultural produce being estimated at 1,430,000 dollars, and its population at about 100,000, near 20,000 of whom are whites and creoles.

in suppressing a dangerous spirit of mutiny and disaffection, which had for a long time prevailed amongst the officers on the Madras establishment,\* and at length arose to such a height, as to threaten open hostilities. It originated in the endeavour of Sir George Barlow, then Governor of Madras, to carry into effect some commercial regulations which considerably reduced the camp-allowances and perquisites of the officers; it broke out in some instances, into acts of the most determined opposition to the authority of the governor, and upon one occasion an action took place near Seringapatam, between a Sepoy regiment and a body of the King's troops, in which two hundred of the former were killed or wounded. To the exertions and remonstrances of Colonel Close, an officer highly distinguished in the service, and greatly beloved by the whole army, the termination of this unhappy affair is in a great measure to be attributed. Two of the officers who had been considered most forward in exciting mutiny, were cashiered by the sentence of a court-martial, and eighteen others had their choice either to stand their trial or quit the service.

In the West Indies, the joint exertions of the British sea and land forces, were, this year, eminently successful, the capture of Martinique having

\* None of the officers of the King's troops were implicated in this affair.

been followed up by an expedition against Guadaloupe. Notwithstanding the blockade of this island, four frigates found means to escape out of harbour together. Two of these carried forty-eight guns and three hundred men each, the other two were armed *en flute*, with twenty guns each, and had on board four hundred troops. On the 13th of December 1809, Captain Shortland in the Junon frigate, having the Observateur brig in company, fell in with them about fifty leagues to the windward of Gaudaloupe; and as the enemy were under Spanish colours, he did not apprehend any danger till within gun-shot, when all his efforts to put about proved unavailing. He was enclosed by the two headmost frigates; and though he knew escape was impossible, he resolved to defend his ship to the last, and thereby prevent the enemy from pursuing the brig, which he was anxious should communicate to the Admiral intelligence of the French squadron. An action ensued of the most extraordinary description. The two larger frigates lay on either side of the Junon; of the two others, one had her bowsprit over the Junon's starboard, the other over her larboard quarter. The fire was most destructive; and though the brave Shortland had but two hundred men, he attempted to board; the boarding party, however, were cut off almost to a man. A similar attempt on the part of the enemy was three times repulsed, but overwhelming numbers at length prevailed, and the Junon was compelled to strike her colours after an action which

lasted an hour and a quarter, and in which ninety of her gallant crew were killed or wounded. The vessel was reduced to such a wreck, that the enemy burned her on the following day. The heroic Captain was covered with wounds, yet he continued to the last to head his men with a pike in his hand, till a langridge shot laid him senseless on the deck. He was carried to Basseterre, where his right leg was amputated above the knee, and after six weeks suffering he expired.

The escape of the *Observateur* was a most fortunate circumstance, as she conveyed the intelligence of the destruction of the *Junon* to Admiral Cochrane, who immediately went in pursuit of the enemy. On the 18th the Admiral was informed that two of the French frigates were at anchor in Ancele-Barque, about three miles north west of Basseterre. He made all sail for the purpose of attacking them, but on approaching nearer, he found the squadron under Captain Ballard had already commenced operations against the enemy, who were moored with their broadsides towards the entrance of the bay, and protected by several batteries. Admiral Cochrane did not think it necessary to interfere with the judicious arrangements of Captain Ballard, and the enemy's ships were soon so crippled by the fire of his squadron, that they were deserted by their crews and set on fire. The enemy's batteries were afterwards stormed by a body of British seamen, under Captain Cameron of the *Hazard*; but that brave officer lost his life by a swivel-shot,

while hauling down the French colours. The frigates destroyed were the Loire and Seine, both armed *en flute*. Four hundred and fifty soldiers who were on board, with the greater part of their crews, escaped, but all the warlike stores and provisions intended for the garrison of Guadaloupe, were blown up.

This event was speedily followed by the conquest of the island, the preparations for the expedition being completed about the middle of January. The troops which consisted of about six thousand men, formed into five brigades,\* were placed under the command of Lieutenant General Sir George Beckwith, and the naval force under Vice-Admiral Cochrane. The first division, consisting of the 3d and 4th brigades, and the reserve under Brigadier General Wale, landed without opposition on the 27th, near St. Mary's in Cabesterre. Major-General Hislop, who commanded this division, pushed forward to Three Rivers, which he reached on the

• FORMATION OF THE ARMY.

1st *Brigade*, B. G. HARCOURT.  
600 Light Infantry.  
300 15th Foot.  
400 3d West India Regiment.

2d *Brigade*, B. G. BARROW.  
300 Grenadiers.  
600 25th Foot.  
350 6th West India Regiment.

3d *Brigade*, B. G. MACLEAN.  
600 Light Infantry.  
500 90th Foot.  
400 8th West India Regiment.

4th *Brigade*, B. G. SKINNER.  
600 13th and 63d Foot.  
200 York Light Infantry, and 4th West India Regiment.

5th *Brigade*, B. G. WALE.  
300 Grenadiers.  
900 Royal York Rangers.  
300 Artillery.  
Artificers.

6150

evening of the 30th, the enemy abandoning all his posts, and leaving his ordnance behind. On the 2d of February, the division marched by the great road to Basseterre, Brigadier General Wale occupying the important post of Morne Houel; and on the 3d, General Hislop crossed the river Gallion, and posted the fourth brigade about a mile from the bridge of Noziere on the Black River, while the third occupied a house, where the enemy had abandoned a magazine of provisions.

The movements of the second division, which had, in the meantime, landed near the river Du Plessis, and marched towards the enemy's right, facilitated the advance of General Hislop, by inducing the enemy to abandon their works at Palmiste, Morne Houel, &c. and retire beyond the bridge of Noziere. He then placed the river in his front, and extended his left into the mountains. To defend the passage of the river became now the main object of General Ernouf, the French commander; and it appeared necessary to Sir George Beckwith to turn his left by the mountains, notwithstanding the obstacles which were presented by the nature of the ground, and the means of defence which the enemy had provided.

The conduct of this arduous enterprize was entrusted to Brigadier General Wale, with the reserve of the army. The first part of his instructions were to force the passage of the River de la Pere. An intelligent guide offered to lead the brigade across the river by a shorter route than the one originally

intended: the General resolved to avail himself of the offer, and his resolution was afterwards approved of by the Commander-in-Chief. Major Edden, with the grenadier battalion, was now ordered to make a diversion on the right, and, if possible, force the bridge, while the Brigadier General himself with the Royal York Rangers, proceeded to the bank of the river. They found the pass extremely difficult, and the enemy increased the natural obstructions by placing there *abbatis* lined with troops. The bravery of the British, however, overcame all opposition; they forced the passage under a heavy fire of musquetry, and the three leading companies under Major Henderson, rushed up the heights. As they approached the summit, five hundred of the enemy's best troops poured on them a destructive fire from behind *abbatis* and stockaded redoubts, but Major Henderson ordered his men to reserve their fire till within twenty-five yards distance. He then closed upon the enemy, and being supported by the rest of the regiment, put them to a total route in a few minutes. The conduct of Major Henderson and this brave young corps was a deserved theme of eulogy, and their loss was proportioned to the arduous nature of the enterprize. Brigadier General Wale, Major Henderson, and four Captains were wounded, four Lieutenants killed, and above eighty men killed and wounded.

The result of this action decided the fate of the island, for General Ernouf perceiving that his

flank was turned, and that the heights were occupied by the British, hoisted the white flag, and a capitulation ensued, by which the garrison surrendered prisoners of war. About six hundred of the enemy were killed or wounded during this short campaign, and the casualties of the British amounted to half that number. In the course of the same month, the islands of St. Martin's, Eustatius, and Saba, were surrendered without opposition to the 25th regiment, under the command of General Harcourt.

In the Mediterranean, the British forces were engaged in operations both of an offensive and defensive nature. The safety of the Ionian islands, which had been captured during the preceding year was considered doubtful, whilst the enemy retained possession of St. Maura, where they maintained a garrison of sixteen hundred men, which they could reinforce at pleasure: it was, therefore, resolved to attempt the conquest of that island, and for this purpose, Captain Eyre, with his Majesty's ships *Magnificent*, *Belle-Poule*, and *Imogene* sailed from Zante on the 21st of March, having under convoy a body of land forces, commanded by Brigadier General Oswald. They were disembarked on the same evening to the southward of the town, which was evacuated on the approach of the British, by General Camus, the Governor. His garrison amounted to one thousand men, and with those he took refuge in the fortress, which is situated on a narrow sandy isthmus, three miles in length, de-

fended by two strong redoubts, and a regular intrenchment, which, it was expected, would arrest the progress of the assailants for a month. The enemy, however, seemed ignorant of the description of troops with which they had to contend, as the first redoubt was quickly carried by Major Church, with four companies of the Greek Light Infantry. General Oswald, encouraged by this success, resolved to lose no time in attacking a line of intrenchments which extended from sea to sea, well defended by cannon, with a wet ditch and *abbatis* in front, and manned by about five hundred infantry. Lieutenant Colonel Lowe, supported by Colonel Wilder, and two battalions, was left in charge of the town, while the Greeks, followed by the battalion of detachments under Major Clarke of the 35th, attacked the intrenchments. As the troops approached, they became exposed to a heavy fire of grape-shot and musketry, by which Captains Eyre and Stephens of the Royal Navy, were wounded. The Greeks hesitated, and could not be brought on to the assault, upon which Major Clarke pressed forward with the battalion of detachments, and at the head of two companies of Royal Marines, under Captains Snow and Stuart, charged into the intrenchments. They were nobly supported by two companies of De Roll's regiment under Major de Bosset, and two companies of the Calabrian Free Corps under Major Oswald; and the enemy, driven at all points, were forced to abandon their camp and cannon,

and were pursued to the gates of the fortress by Major Clarke. This success was greatly accelerated by a movement of Lieutenant Colonel Lowe along the causeway, at the head of parties of the Rifles, 35th, and Corsican Rangers, which led him on the rear of the enemy.

The strength of the fortress rendered it necessary to commence a siege in form, which continued for nine days after the batteries were opened. During the operations, one or two night attacks on the enemy's posts, were executed with great gallantry by the besiegers. The skilful manner in which Captain Thackeray, the commanding engineer, constructed the works, was particularly noticed; and in the night of the 15th, Lieutenant Colonel Moore, at the head of the grenadiers of the 35th, with parties of De Roll's and Corsicans, drove the enemy from intrenchments within three hundred paces of the ramparts, which they afterwards converted into a second parallel, from which the enemy's fire could not dislodge them. This gallant exploit hastened the surrender of the fortress, which took place on the 17th of April, the garrison becoming prisoners of war. The besiegers, during these operations, suffered a loss of one hundred and sixty-seven men in killed and wounded, including eighteen officers.

Joachim Murat, the new king of Naples, made mighty preparations, during this summer, for the invasion of Sicily. Three hundred boats, and thirty-seven thousand troops were stationed on the

Calabrian coast, and Murat announced his intention of entering Palermo on the 15th of August, the Emperor's birth-day. The British force on the island amounted to fifteen thousand men, commanded by Sir John Stuart, who had already given the enemy a specimen of his military talents on the plains of Maida. From the court of Sicily he had little assistance to hope for; but the people were extremely well-affected to the cause of their country and of Great Britain. Sir John Stuart prepared for the most vigorous resistance, distributing his little army along the Straits, from Messina to the Faro Point, while gun-boats fringed the coast, and batteries rose as by magic. Four line of battle ships, with some frigates and smaller vessels, were placed within the Faro.

The Neapolitan army was posted on the heights above the Castle of Scylla, while the gun-boats were at anchor under the cover of heavy batteries. As the straits in this place were scarcely two miles in breadth, shells and red-hot shot were constantly fired at the English quarters, but with little effect. The spirit and activity of the British seamen were manifested upon various occasions by successful attacks on the French flotilla, and the alarm of an invasion was considerably dissipated, when the enemy, on the 18th of September, effected a debarkation of three thousand five hundred men near the Faro, about seven miles to the southward

of Messina. They were immediately opposed near the heights at Mili by the 21st regiment under Lieutenant Colonel Adam, supported by the 3d King's German Legion. The enemy was soon after brought to action by the 2d Light Infantry under Lieutenant Colonel Fischer, which checked his advance up the heights, and Major-General Campbell, at the same time, judiciously moving the 21st regiment and German riflemen from Mili by the great road and beach, the double effect was produced of precipitating the retreat of the invaders, and throwing into the hands of the British a corps of nine hundred men who had gained the heights, and now surrendered at discretion. Only three British soldiers were wounded in this singular action, which terminated all the vauntings of the enemy about the invasion of Sicily.

Owing to the crippled state of the enemy's marine the captures from them this year were neither numerous nor important. As their vessels rarely ventured to sea, our cruisers frequently pursued them into their own harbours, and fought them under their batteries. A remarkable action of this kind took place on the 3d of May, in the Bay of Naples. The Spartan and Success frigates, commanded by Captains Brenton and Ayscough, had for some days chased a French squadron, consisting of a frigate of forty-two guns, a corvette of twenty-eight, two smaller vessels, one carrying ten, and the other eight guns, and eight large gun-boats, the whole being manned with above nine

hundred men; but the enemy succeeded in getting into the Mole of Naples. Captain Brenton being convinced, that while two British frigates were in the bay, the hostile squadron would not again venture out, directed the *Success* to sail to the rendezvous south-west of the Bay of Capri, which succeeded so well, that the enemy's squadron, in all the confidence of victory, stood towards the British ship. As this immensely superior force ranged along-side, Captain Brenton ordered his crew to give three cheers, which was readily obeyed. The action began at about half-past eight P. M. and the *Spartan* passing along the enemy's line, succeeded in cutting off the cutter and gun-boats from the rest of the squadron. A tremendous volley from the *Spartan* now drove below with great slaughter all the soldiers and marines that crowded the decks of the frigate, and after a few broadsides, she sheered off, and took refuge under the batteries of Baia. The corvette, after losing her fore-top-mast also effected her escape with the assistance of her gun-boats. A brig, however, was cut off, which sunk soon after the action. In this gallant combat, of which Murat and his court are said to have been spectators, the French, by their own confession, had one hundred and twenty men killed and wounded. On board the *Spartan* ten were killed, and twenty-two wounded; and amongst the latter was Captain Brenton, who during a considerable part of the

action stood upon the capstan, cheering his crew.

A very gallant exploit took place on the 22d of May, in the Bay of Agaye, on the French coast, under the superintendence of Captain Murray Maxwell of the *Alceste* frigate. Several of the enemy's vessels having taken shelter under two batteries in the bay, parties were landed from the *Alceste*, one of which, under the command of Mr. Henry Bell, the Master, was so fortunate as to get in the rear of the battery undiscovered. They immediately attacked and carried the battery, spiked the guns, and destroyed the magazines. On the night of the 25th, Mr Bell was again sent in with the barge and yawl, and this intrepid officer succeeded in capturing four feluccas, driving two upon the rocks, and the rest back into the harbour, though during the action completely exposed to the fire of the batteries, two armed vessels, and a great number of soldiers on the beach. Seventeen vessels were, about the same period, taken or destroyed under the batteries of the Isle of Rhe, by the boats of the *Armide* and *Cadmus* under the command of Lieutenant Samuel Roberts of the *Armide*. On the 14th of November, the *Diana*, Captain Grant, being in company with the *Donegal*, *Revenge*, and *Niobe*, drove two French frigates on shore near La Hogue, and a boat being sent in, which fired several Congreve's rockets, they were both left on their beam-ends.

On the 20th of July, a truly British spirit was manifested by a squadron detached from Admiral Cotton's fleet, under the command of Captain Blackwood, in offering battle to a French squadron of double their force. The British consisted of the Warspite, Ajax and Conqueror, of the line, the Euryalus frigate, and Sheerwater brig. They had forced an enemy's frigate to take refuge in Bandol, to liberate which a French squadron of six sail of the line and four frigates came out of Toulon, and after liberating the frigate, they endeavoured to cut off the Euryalus and Sheerwater. Captain Blackwood now deemed it imperative on him to risk an action, though with a force so vastly superior, and at the enemy's door. He accordingly brought to, with the Conqueror and Ajax astern of him, but as soon as the enemy came within reach of their fire, they hauled up in succession their headmost ships, giving their broadsides, and then tacked, in which the British followed their example, and eventually secured the retreat of the Euryalus and Sheerwater. The enemy, by their conduct upon this occasion, clearly displayed the respect in which they held the character of British seamen.

## CHAPTER XXV.

French Affairs.—Military and Financial Statements.—New Laws for restraining the Liberty of the Press.—Establishment of State Prisons.—Decree relative to Servants.—Strict enforcement of the Anti-commercial System.—Marriage of Napoleon with the Archduchess Maria Louisa of Austria.—Various conjectures on the probable results of this extraordinary Event.—Union of the Roman States with the French Empire.—Project of Napoleon for the annexation of Holland to his Dominions.—Louis remonstrates, in vain, against the iniquitous proceeding.—A French Army enters Holland under Marshal Oudinot, who fixes his head quarters at Amsterdam.—Louis abdicates the Throne, in favor of his Son, which is declared to be invalid by Napoleon.—Union of Holland to France.—Distressed situation of the Dutch.—Napoleon visits his new Dominions.—His singular Speech to the Roman Catholic Clergy at Breda.—Sufferings of Austria and Prussia in consequence of the Anti-Commercial System.—Annexation of the Valais and the Hanse Towns, to France.—Lucien Bonaparte and his Family arrive in England.—Abortive Attempt to deliver Ferdinand VII. from his Captivity.—Affairs of Sweden.—Arrival of the Crown Prince, Charles of Augustenberg.—His sudden Death.—Com-motions excited at Stockholm by this Event.—Murder of Count Fersen by the Populace.—The States appoint Marshal Bernadotte Heir to the Swedish Crown.—Hostilities between the Russians and Turks.

**F**IVE years had now elapsed since Napoleon assumed the Imperial purple ; and this, we con-

ceive, may be marked as the period when his greatness had attained its highest point of elevation. To reach the pinnacle of earthly grandeur, he had waded through fields of blood, and trampled on slaughtered hecatombs; and now a season of personal repose appeared necessary, to consolidate the authority which his sword had won, or prepare for further conquests. From this point also we may date the decline of the power of this extraordinary man. His future measures were no longer distinguished by that strength of mind, and knowledge of the human character which marked his previous conduct: his uninterrupted success and singular elevation appear to have blinded his imagination to the possibility of a reverse—the chief objects of his policy seemed to be at this time, to rule the conquered nations with a sceptre of iron, and, by restrictive laws, to stifle every embryo of freedom at home; while the terror of his name, he conceived, was sufficient to enforce his mandates on the few continental states, which still maintained the port of independence. But there is a point beyond which the most towering genius should not venture—and it is happy for the world that tyrants rarely discover it.—Great military talents and various fortuitous circumstances may elevate them to power; but, the slaves of head-strong passions, they are generally destitute of the wisdom necessary to its perpetuation.

It was announced to the Senate at the commencement of the year, that the French military

establishment would be reduced from nine hundred thousand to seven hundred thousand men, three hundred and fifty thousand of whom were required for the Spanish war, notwithstanding the previous vaunts of its speedy termination. The Minister of Finance, in his Report, acknowledged that the customs of 1809 had fallen short by one-third of the receipts of the preceding year; but this he attributed to the success of Napoleon's anti-commercial system. The English exports, he affirmed, had been diminished during the same period by the enormous sum of nineteen millions, which had brought that country to the brink of ruin; and it was generally reported in the French papers, that the people of England were, at the same time, suffering under all the horrors of famine.

Some measures were adopted during this Session for restraining the liberties of the French people, which could have originated only in the breast of a tyrant, in perpetual terror of meeting the punishment which his crimes had deserved. The first of these was directed against the freedom of the press, and consisted of no less than fifty-one articles. A Director General was appointed to superintend the printing and publication of books throughout France, who was to have the assistance of six auditors. — The number of printing presses in Paris was reduced to four, and of printers to sixty. All printers were to receive warrants, and swear attachment to the country,

and loyalty to the sovereign. The printer was bound to transmit to the Director General and to the Prefect of the Department to which he belonged, copies of the manuscripts in his hands; and where the Director General inhibited the printing of any work, a copy was sent to a Censor chosen from amongst a number of persons named by the Emperor, who was at liberty to make such alterations as he thought proper; and should the author refuse to submit to these, the sale of the work was to be inhibited, the forms to be broken, and possession taken of the sheets and copies printed. Only one newspaper was to be published in any department except the Seine, and all newspapers were placed under the authority of the Prefects.

By another Decree eight State Prisons were appointed in different parts of France for the confinement of persons whom it was not deemed proper to liberate, or convenient to bring to trial. These cases were reserved for the decision of the Privy Council, and Monthly Inspectors were appointed for discharging all who were not detained according to law.

A third Edict, by taking particular cognizance of servants of both sexes, was well calculated to place every family in Paris at the mercy of the government through their domestics. All servants were by this decree, obliged to have their names, places of birth, employment, and description,

inserted in a register, kept by the Prefect of the Police, together with the name of the person whom they served; and all who neglected this were subject to imprisonment. No person was permitted to employ a domestic without a card of inscription, which was to be delivered into the hands of the master, who was bound to notify upon it the day of the departure of his servant, and transmit the card to the Prefecture of Police. Within forty-eight hours the discharged servant was bound to repair to the Prefecture, to declare what course he meant to pursue, and receive his card again. He could hire no apartment without the knowledge of his late master or the Prefect; and if out of employment for more than a month, without giving a satisfactory account of his means of subsistence, he was obliged to quit Paris under pain of being punished as a vagrant.

In the freest states, and under the best regulated governments, periods of danger may call for a temporary abridgement of the liberties of the people; but a country in which such laws as the foregoing could have been permitted to form a part of the permanent civil code, must have been sunk to the lowest degree of political debasement. Penal Laws are absolutely necessary to guard the interests of the state, the morals of the people, and the hallowed intercourse of domestic life, against the envenomed arrows of a licentious press; but a previous Censorship will ever be, in the hands of a tyrant, the most deadly foe to

religion, to civilization, and to liberty. Specious arguments have been advanced to support the contrary doctrine. A member of the Spanish Cortes, during its first Session, observed, 'that if a book were published against religion and good morals, it might indeed be suppressed, and the author punished; but who could undo the evil that it had done by its pernicious tenets.' He was well replied to by a colleague. 'If,' said he, 'I wish to wear a sword, will any one say my hands ought to be tied, *lest I should* commit a murder? or that I ought to be confined to my house, because if I go into the street I may rob a man? Free will is given to every man, and as we know what is the punishment of transgression, we endeavour not to transgress.' The force of this reasoning must be obvious. Laws which are adequate to the protection of the person and property of the citizen, should also be deemed sufficient to guard his morals and his reputation. But a previous Censorship, like a two-edged-sword, is directed against the good as well as the evil; and, when under the influence of a tyrant or a bigot, it must have an infallible tendency to retard the progress of that useful knowledge and civilization, without which this world must ever resemble an immense stage for sanguinary gladiators rather than the peaceful abode of rational and intelligent beings. The other enactments prepared prisons for all who were so unfortunate as to incur the suspicions of the government, and devised a

plan of wonderful artifice for filling them with inmates. So extensive a system of espionage was, perhaps, never invented under any political code. Every servant in Paris was known to the Police Ministers; who might, consequently, at any time, be informed of the most secret transactions of every family, and by this plan all the domestics in the French capital were made so many secret agents of the Emperor. Thus might the sword of Damocles be said to have been suspended over the heads of all the citizens of Paris.

Another important object of Napoleon's policy was to enforce the anti-commercial system against England. To hold any intercourse with that country was made felony, and the captain of the ship was liable to be punished with death. Detachments of soldiers and custom-house officers were stationed along the whole line of coast from France to Hamburgh. Immense rewards were offered to informers, which tempted confidential servants to betray their employers. Domiciliary visits were made in search of concealed property, and fifty per cent. was levied with inexorable rigour upon all colonial produce. These violent measures were attended with the most distressing consequences, not only to the commercial world, but to almost every person on the continent. Sugar was sold at Hamburgh at a crown a pound, and fruitless attempts were made to extract it from grapes, carrots, beet-root, and honey. Macedonian cotton was brought by land into

Holland. In many places no lamps could be lighted for want of oil. Burnt lupine seeds were used in place of coffee, and at Vienna large premiums were offered to procure substitutes for camphor, Peruvian bark, opium, and other medicines.

The most extensive and daring smuggling was the natural consequence of such a state of things. Men associated in armed bands for the defence of their property, and in spite of Bonaparte's *douaniers*, sold those articles which habit had rendered essential to the comforts of the population. New laws were enacted, and new tribunals erected to suppress those proceedings.—some of the transgressors were consigned to death, some to hard labour, while the prohibited goods were ordered to be publicly burned, and these edicts were carried into execution at the point of the bayonet.

During these transactions Napoleon effected the object which had, in the preceding year, led him to repudiate his former consort. It is difficult to decide, whether this measure originated in policy or vanity. It may perhaps have sprung from both. The negotiations for his second marriage were carried on for some time with the most profound secresy, and on the 27th of February, it was announced to the Senate, that the Prince of Neufchatel (Marshal Berthier) had been despatched to Vienna, to demand the hand of the Archduchess Maria Louisa, daughter of the Emperor Francis, in marriage. The first announcement of the projected

alliance excited considerable surprize throughout Europe; and it was a very prevalent opinion that the young princess was about to be led to the altar an unwilling victim, who by her reluctant compliance had purchased that unexpected moderation which Napoleon exhibited after the battle of Wagram. The fallacy of this opinion was, however, soon apparent, and it was evident that the vanity of Maria Louisa was flattered by the idea of captivating the man whom fame had proclaimed to be the first hero of the age. We may suppose that nothing but the strongest political considerations could have induced the haughty House of Hapsburg to consent to a matrimonial alliance with a Sovereign, who had been so long its determined persecutor, under circumstances at once repugnant to the precepts of the Deity and the wise regulations of civilized society.

The marriage ceremony took place at Vienna on the 11th of March, when the Archduke Charles acted as the representative of Bonaparte, and the new Empress soon after set out for France. At every stage fêtes and ceremonies greeted her arrival. Her way seemed strewed with flowers, and from the time she reached Munich, matters were so arranged, that every morning as soon as she arose, a page arrived with a letter from Napoleon, who expressed the greatest impatience for her arrival, and proceeded as far as Soissons to meet her. When the two carriages met Napoleon alighted, and entered that of the Empress. After

the first salutations, a moment of gazing and silence ensued, which is said to have been interrupted by the Empress in a way highly complimentary to Napoleon, (whom she now saw for the first time,) by saying "Sire, your portrait is not flattered.\*"

The first (or civil part) of the marriage ceremony took place on the 1st of April, at the Palace of St. Cloud, when the Prince-Arch-Chancellor declared in the name of the Emperor and the law, that the parties were united. The religious ceremony was solemnized on the following day in the chapel of the Louvre with great pomp. On the altar was placed a basin, containing the marriage ring and thirty pieces of

\* Napoleon was at this time in his forty-first year. In early life he was extremely thin. His complexion had an olive tinge, his countenance was long, and his eyes sunk in his head. As he advanced in years, his person became rounder and his skin fairer, his eyes became animated, and his countenance acquired a dignified expression, which was probably produced by the habit of constantly exercising authority. His hand, leg, and foot were models of the most perfect symmetry.

At the time of her marriage Maria Louisa was in her nineteenth year. Her person and character have been thus described in a work (*Anecdotes of the Court and Family of Napoleon*,) published since his exile; we may therefore conjecture, that it does not speak the language of flattery.—"A majestic figure and noble deportment, freshness and brilliancy of complexion, fair hair accompanied by a spirited expression, blue and animated eyes, a hand and foot which might have served as models: such were the exterior advantages for which she was at first sight

gold. Close to the altar stood two wax tapers, in each of these twenty pieces of gold were incrustated. Two cushions were placed at the foot of the steps of the altar for Napoleon and his Imperial Bride; and at the top were three chairs for the Grand Almoner and his assistants, the Cardinals and Bishops being ranged on either side. After *Veni Creator* had been sung, the Grand Almoner pronounced his benediction on the thirty pieces of gold and the ring. Napoleon and the Princess then advanced to the foot of the altar, and taking each other by the right hand, pronounced the marriage-vow. The pieces of gold having been delivered, one by one, to Bonaparte, he presented them in

remarkable. She was, perhaps, somewhat too lusty; but this fault was soon remedied by her residence in France. Nothing could be more engaging nor more prepossessing than her appearance when she found herself without restraint amidst persons with whom she was on terms of intimacy; but in the great world, and more particularly during the early part of her residence in France, her timidity gave her an air of embarrassment, which was frequently mistaken for haughtiness. The greatest care had been bestowed on her education; her tastes were simple, her mind cultivated, and she spoke French with as much facility as her native language. She was calm, prudent, amiable and susceptible; and without any wish for display, she possessed every agreeable accomplishment, was fond of occupation, and a stranger to lassitude. No woman could have been better suited to Napoleon. Gentle and retired, a stranger to all sorts of intrigue, she never interfered with public affairs, and was frequently only informed of them, through the medium of the public papers."

like manner to his new consort, and she transferred them to one of her maids of honour. The ceremony of the ring being thus performed, the Grand Almoner making the sign of the cross upon the hand of the Empress, pronounced them man and wife. They then went through the ceremony of kissing the Gospels, after which they advanced to the altar, each bearing one of the tapers containing the twenty pieces of gold, which they delivered as their offering to the Grand Almoner. High mass succeeded, during which they knelt under a canopy of silver brocade, held over them by an Archbishop and a Bishop, and were repeatedly perfumed with incense and sprinkled with holy water. The ceremony was concluded by receiving the Holy Sacrament.

Acts of clemency and benevolence followed the celebration of the Imperial nuptials. All deserters from the army were pardoned; fines inflicted by the judgment of the police were remitted; and six thousand girls were to be married to so many retired soldiers of their communes, with a dowry of twelve hundred francs, if they belonged to Paris, and half that sum to those from the rest of the empire. Among the poor, twelve thousand loaves, twelve thousand dishes of meat, and one hundred and forty-four pipes of wine were distributed by lottery.

The Emperor received congratulations on this happy event from the Senate, and other public bodies in their accustomed strain of flattery; while

the Parisian populace were indulged in all their usual modes of manifesting their joy. Bon-fires, illuminations and triumphal arches were to be seen in all quarters of the capital. One of the arches exhibited a device representing Cupid playing with a sword and helmet, with the motto, "*She will charm the leisure hours of the hero.*" Another under the emblem of a rainbow said, "*She announces to the earth days of serenity.*" A third bore the medallion of Bonaparte, with the inscription, "*The happiness of the world is in his hands.*"

For some time conjecture was extremely busy as to the probable issue of so singular, and in some respects, so unnatural an alliance. Some pronounced it a master-stroke of Bonaparte's policy, by which he had established his family amongst the sovereign houses of Europe, and secured the permanency of his throne; and that, if wisely improved, it might lead to the pacification and happiness of Europe. Many of the French regretted it, because it was likely to defer the destruction of Austria, the only power which, they conceived, stood in the way of their attaining that universal empire, for which they had so long and ardently panted : while a third party prognosticated with greater sagacity, that the union of two powers equally inimical to liberty, would be productive of great evil to the freedom of Germany ; that it would excite the jealousy of Russia, and that if the French monarch should have issue by the marriage, the seeds of

dissension would probably be sown in his own family.

The new political changes which Napoleon effected this year, gave full proof that the softer pleasures had no effect in lulling the restless spirit of his ambition. For some time hints had been given, that Napoleon having revoked the gifts that Charlemagne had made to the Bishop of Rome, had a right as legitimate lord paramount of Rome, to style himself, like his illustrious predecessor, Roman and French Emperor. After ages of oblivion, Napoleon the Great was to be the founder of a renovated Western Empire; and in this character he would prove a blessing to civilized Europe. In furtherance of this plan, a *Senatûs Consultum* decreed the union of the Roman States with the French Empire. They were divided into two departments, called Rome and Thrasimene. Rome was declared the second city in the Empire. The Prince Imperial of France was to possess the title of King of Rome; and after being crowned in Paris, the French Emperors were, before the tenth year of their reign, to be crowned at St. Peter's. By the same decree, the Popes, were ordered to swear, at their elevation, that they would never act contrary to the four propositions of the Gallican Church, adopted in 1682. Lands to the value of two millions of francs were assigned to the Pope, who was in future to have a palace at Paris and another at Rome; and to lessen, as much as possible, the influence

of the Pontiff, the expenses of the Sacred College, and the Propaganda were declared Imperial. The ecclesiastics at Rome, however, still maintained the supremacy of the Pope: in the course of the year strong symptoms of dissatisfaction appearing in that city, a French corps, twenty thousand strong, was sent there to keep the people in awe; and for their accommodation, some of the churches, and other public buildings, were converted into barracks.

The annexation of Holland to the French Empire, completed that tissue of tyrannical and arbitrary conduct which Napoleon had exercised towards the Dutch since his accession to sovereign power. At the time of the French invasion, in 1795, they yielded almost without a struggle, and at the command of their new ally, expatriated their hereditary sovereign, and declared war against England. From that period they had participated in all the changes which had affected France. Their colonies and commerce were sacrificed to her ambition. Dutch soldiers fought her battles, and Dutch contributions replenished her treasury. The name of independence alone was left to them, and this they had hoped was secured by the ties of consanguinity, when Bonaparte had condescended to confer upon them a King of his own family, in the person of his brother Louis. However deficient in the art of governing under such circumstances the new sovereign may have been, he appears to have possessed those benevolent qualities which

were calculated to win the affections of his subjects. Though he owed his elevation to his brother's will, and was in every sense of the word, a vassal king, yet he had the courage, if not openly to oppose the arbitrary mandates of Napoleon, at least to wink at their violation, when they affected the interests or happiness of the people committed to his government. An Imperial edict had ordered that all the ports of Holland should be shut against English commerce; but in a country wholly dependent on its trade for existence, the rigid enforcement of such a measure must have been productive of absolute ruin.

Louis, deeply affected by the wretchedness which the anti-commercial system had brought upon his people while the Imperial decree was carried into effect, shut his eyes against the continual infractions of it, and the Dutch ports continued their usual commercial intercourse with England. This conduct was strongly resented by the French Autocrat, and the French custom-houses were shut against the commerce of Holland. Towards the close of January, M. Champagny, after urging to the Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs many causes of complaint, informed him, that his Imperial Majesty could not but observe that the King of Holland was divided between his most imprescriptible duties, his duties to the Imperial throne, and the mercantile interests of the Dutch nation, which he derided as miserable considerations. "Without an army, without revenues, it might also be said,

without friends and without allies; the Dutch," said he, "are a society animated only by a regard to their commercial interests, and forming a rich, useful, and respectable company, but not a nation." M. Champagny concluded by saying, that if England should continue to maintain her Orders in Council, the present situation of Holland would become incompatible with the continental system, and his Imperial Majesty proposed to call home the prince of his blood whom he had placed on the throne of Holland; to occupy all the mouths of its rivers and its ports by French troops; and without being hindered by any consideration, to employ every means for making Holland enter into the continental system.

In vain did the unhappy Hollanders send forth their groans and their remonstrances. They urged the millions of specie which they had given as a ransom for their liberty, the sacrifice of their ships and the flower of their youth in the common contest. The pay and maintenance from year to year of thousands of French troops, and lastly Napoleon's own solemn guarantee in the treaty of Paris in 1806, by which he promised to maintain their political, civil, and religious freedom as it then stood. Louis was at this time in Paris, and both by public documents, and at private conferences with his brother, pleaded the cause of the people committed to his trust, and for whom he seems to have entertained the tenderest affection.

A treaty signed between the two brothers on

the 16th of March, assuaged for a short time the apprehensions of the Hollanders; but it was soon found that it only put off the evil day, as its main object was the strict observance of the laws prohibiting commerce with England, except in case of license granted by the French, and not the Dutch government. A swarm of French custom-house officers, with eighteen thousand troops, maintained by Holland, were to be placed at the mouths of all the rivers; and Zealand, Dutch Brabant, the territory between the Meuse and the Waal, together with the Bommelwaard, and the territory of Altona, were to be ceded to France. The Dutch were bound to maintain a sufficient fleet of men of war, and a flotilla of gun-boats to co-operate with that power; and on these terms Napoleon guaranteed the integrity of the remaining Dutch possessions.

Satisfied with the assurances given to him by the French government, that the French troops should be stationed only on the coast, and never interfere but in matters relative to the blockade, Louis returned to Holland, where he called on the people to co-operate with him in the re-establishment of public affairs, telling them at the same time, that all causes of complaint had been removed by France; but it soon appeared that the treaty was the first step towards the complete subjugation of the country. On the 16th of May, Marshal Oudinot ordered the French troops to occupy with a second line, the most important places which were sus-

pected of being *entrepôts* of contraband goods, thus disregarding the promise that French troops should be only stationed on the coast; and as if Holland possessed neither government nor a King, he, of his own authority, issued orders that all persons introducing British merchandize, or holding communication, directly or indirectly, with the English, should be tried by a commission appointed for the purpose. Louis remonstrated without effect against these proceedings; he prohibited the French custom-house officers from entering Muiden, Naarden, and Diennen; and he informed Oudinot, that if the capital or its district, should be occupied by the French, he would consider it a violation of the law of nations. Pretexts, however, were speedily found: some insults were offered to the French soldiers at Rotterdam, and though every means was resorted to by the King and the magistrates to punish the offenders, twenty thousand French troops arrived at Utrecht and its environs in the month of June, and an official communication from the Emperor on the 29th, insisted that the head-quarters of the French army should be placed at Amsterdam.

Louis now resolved that he would not submit to the last indignity which the rage of his brother might inflict upon him, and while he was his own master, he signed a form of abdication, in which, after expressing his regret, that all his efforts to remove the Emperor's displeasure against him had proved fruitless, he resigned his regal dignity in favour of his son, Napoleon Louis, and in failure

of him, in favour of his brother Charles Louis Napoleon. This was signed on the 1st of July, and the same evening he left Amsterdam privately, and soon after went to the baths of Toplitz in Bohemia, to recruit his broken health which had suffered much from the painful and humiliating situation in which he had been placed.—Louis left behind him a letter to the Legislative Body, in which he spoke with unreserved frankness of the injustice which the French government had exercised towards him, expressed the most tender affection for his late subjects, and exhorted them, as they regarded their own interests and that of their families, to receive the French with kindness and cordiality.

The abdication of Louis in favour of his son was declared by Napoleon to be of no validity, as it had not received his previous approbation ; and M. Champagny, in a long Report, stated the immense advantages that would result both to Holland and to France by a union of the two countries. He presaged that under the energetic government of the Emperor, the ensuing year would not terminate before a fleet of forty sail of the line and a great number of troops should be assembled in the Scheldt and the Texel to dispute with the English government, the sovereignty of the sea ; in fact, he pronounced this step as the heaviest blow which could be inflicted on England. This Report was followed by a Decree, declaring the union of Holland to France, and proclaiming

Amsterdam the third city of the Empire. To complete this tissue of violence and artifice, which was scarcely surpassed by the nefarious usurpation of the throne of Spain, the most fallacious hopes and promises were held out by Napoleon to allay the fears of his new subjects. 'The spacious field from Rome to Amsterdam was now,' he said, 'laid open to their industry. This might encourage them to look on the extension of their commerce in those regions where their ancestors had carried to so high a pitch the glory of the Dutch name—they should be the objects of his care, and he would rejoice as much in their prosperity as in that of his good city of Paris.'

It was manifested by the measures that speedily followed, how it was intended to fulfil these specious promises. The severest restrictions were laid upon the fisheries, which constituted the chief means of subsistence to the most indigent classes on the coast, under the usual pretext of preventing smuggling. The Dutch troops were marched into France or Spain, and replaced by Frenchmen, who were authorized to demand a maintenance from every house where they were billeted. A duty of fifty per cent. was ordered to be paid on colonial produce by bonds at three, six, and nine months date, and some other financial regulations were adopted of the most unjust and oppressive nature. So ruinous were these tyrannical proceedings, that numerous bankruptcies followed, and in a few weeks about two thousand

servants were said to have been discharged in Amsterdam and the other commercial towns, while in six months the number of paupers was increased ten-fold.

Some abortive attempts were made to rouse the Hollanders to imitate the example of Spain by a simultaneous effort for the recovery of their independence: an address on this subject, of the boldest character, was privately circulated; and at Zutphen and Deventer commotions took place in which some lives were lost. A conspiracy is said to have been discovered at Breda, which Napoleon suspected the Catholic priests of having fomented; and in a tour which he made, in the course of the summer, through his new dominions, he treated the Catholic clergy who waited on him at Breda with the most marked contempt.\* During this

\* The Protestant clergy waited upon him at the same time in full canonicals, and concluded their address by assuring him that it was the immutable principles of their religion to render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's. But the Catholic clergy regarding him as under the sentence of excommunication, did not wear their canonicals. Napoleon, resenting this affront, is said to have addressed them in the following singular and characteristic harangue;—"You say you are priests: why have you not your cassocks on? What are you? Attornies, notaries, peasants? I come into a province where the majority are Catholics, who in former times were oppressed, who acquired more liberty after the revolution, and upon whom the king, my brother, bestowed many favours. I come in order to make you equal to the rest, and you begin by forgetting the respect due to me, and complain

\* Edinburgh Annual Register.

tour, Napoleon had the opportunity of witnessing the distress which his anti-commercial edicts had

of the oppressions you suffered under the former government; your conduct shews how well you deserved them. The first act of sovereignty which I was obliged to exercise, was that of arresting two of your contumacious priests; they are in prison, and they shall continue there. On the other hand, the first word I hear from a priest of the Reformed Church is, that it is his doctrine to render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's. This is the doctrine you ought to preach, and from that gentleman," said he, pointing to the spokesman of the reformed deputation, "you ought to learn it.

"You have calumniated the Protestants," he continued, "by representing them as preaching doctrines dangerous to the State; but the best subjects I have are Protestants. In Paris I am partly attended by them; they have free access to me; and here a handful of Brabant fanatics attempt to resist my designs. Had I not met in Bossuet and in the maxims of the Gallican Church, with principles that agree with mine, and had not the Concordat been received, I should have become a Protestant myself, and thirty millions of people would have followed my example. But what religion do you teach? Do you not know that Christ said, 'My kingdom is not of this world,' and would you interfere in my concerns? You will not pray for a sovereign; you want to be obstinate citizens; I have the proofs of it in my pocket. If you maintain such principles, your lot will be punishment in this world and eternal damnation in the next. You," said he, turning to the chief of the deputation, "you are the Apostolic Vicar. Who appointed you to that office? The Pope? He has no right to do it." Then addressing them again collectively: "You will not pray for the Sovereigns—perhaps because a Romish priest excommunicated one; but who gave him the right of excommunicating a Sovereign? Why did Luther and Calvin separate themselves from the Church? Your infamous sales of

occasioned; but no means were adopted for meliorating the miserable condition of the people. In this wretchedness all the nations of the continent participated. In Austria the prohibition of foreign commerce had put a total stop to various branches of trade, and the distress occasioned thereby was greatly augmented by the failure of the harvest. The miseries of the people were further aggravated by the wants of the State; and to pay the arrear of the war-contribution exacted by Napoleon from his father-in-law, the people were called on for a tenth of their

indulgences caused them to revolt, and the German Princes would no longer bear your sway. The English acted wisely in renouncing you. The Popes, by their hierarchy, set Europe in flames. Perhaps it is your wish to re-establish scaffolds and racks; but it shall be my care that you do not succeed. Are you of the religion of Gregory VII. Boniface VIII. Benedict XIV. or Clement XII? I am not; I am of the religion of Jesus Christ, who said, 'Give unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's;' and conformably to the same Gospel, I give unto God that which belongs to God, I bear the temporal sword; I know how to wield it. God placed me on the throne, and you, reptiles of the earth, dare not oppose me: I owe no account of my administration to the Pope,—only to God and Jesus Christ: you perhaps think me created to kiss the Pope's slipper. If it depended on you, you would cut off my hair, put on me a cowl, place me in a convent, or, like Louis the Pious, banish me to Africa. What ignorant ideots you are! Prove to me out of the Gospel, that Jesus Christ has appointed the Pope his substitute, or successor of St. Peter, and that he has a right to excommunicate a Sovereign. If you care about my protection then, preach the Gospel as the

property, and all church-plate was ordered to be delivered in for the use of the government, which was to be paid for in four yearly instalments after the lapse of ten years.

In Prussia, Frederick William (who during the summer of this year had lost by the hand of death his accomplished and noble-spirited Queen,) had been compelled to inflict similar sufferings on his subjects, by enforcing the anti-commercial edicts of Napoleon. The consequent poverty which these measures had occasioned, caused no diminution of the heavy contributions exacted by

Apostles did. I will protect you, if you are good citizens. if not, I will banish you from my Empire, and I will disperse you over the world like Jews." He then ordered that the necessary preparations should be made that these people might swear the Concordat.

The object of Napoleon in delivering at this time such a violent philippic against the Catholic clergy is easily understood. Through his whole political career it may be observed, that while he enforced his mandates with all the sternness of a conqueror on the subjugated nations, he seemed anxious to appear not only tolerant to the peculiar religious tenets of each, but actually favourable to them. On his entering Spain, the Spaniards were congratulated that they possessed only one religion, and that the true one. In the preceding year, he told the Catholics of Austria, that while he denied the Pope's temporal authority, he acknowledged his spiritual supremacy: but now that he is about to visit the Protestant country of Holland, he rejects both, and declares that he would have become a Protestant himself, if the Concordat had not been received.

France ; and to meet them, the king had to sell a great part of his jewels, and to seize on ecclesiastical property to a considerable amount. Hanover, which had been the bait held out to tempt him to his ruin, was annexed to the Kingdom of Westphalia, and the people were permitted to share in the blessings which the government of King Jerome was dispensing amongst the subjects of his other provinces. The first measure of the new sovereign was a proclamation forbidding emigration ; and the sentiments of the Hanoverians soon became so apparent, that it was considered necessary to prohibit the sale of prints of the Duke of Brunswick-Oels, and snuff-boxes bearing his portrait.

Besides the usurpations already noticed, Napoleon in the course of this year, added to his overgrown Empire, the Valais, and the Hanse towns. Hamburgh, Bremen, and Lubeck were annexed to France, under pretexts of equal weight with those, which in his eyes justified his acts of outrage against Spain and Holland ; and at the close of the year the population of the Empire was computed at forty-three millions. Part of the Tyrolese was, at the same time, annexed to the kingdom of Italy.

The conduct of another brother of the French Emperor also excited about this time a considerable share of the public attention. From the commencement of the French Revolution he had es-

poused the principles of Republicanism, and the whole of his after-conduct proved that his professions were sincere. He supported Napoleon with all his influence until he had attained the Consulship, but he opposed his project of assuming the Imperial dignity with all his power.\* He soon after retired to Italy, and at Rome devoted himself to literature and the fine arts, and the enjoyment of a princely fortune in the midst of his family. From causes which have not been fully ascertained, Lucien left Italy this year with his family, with the intention of fixing his residence in America. But Mr. Hill, the British resident there, not deeming himself authorized to grant him a safe conduct, sent him to Malta, from whence he was soon after conveyed to England. He and his family resided for a considerable time at Ludlow under the superintendence of an officer who was charged with the inspection of his letters; but in every other respect he was treated in a manner suitable to his rank.

An abortive attempt was made in the month of April, to deliver Ferdinand VII. from his captivity at Valançay. The plan seems to have been con-

\* Lucien is reported to have said to his brother upon this occasion, "Your ambition knows no bounds—you are master of France, you wish to be master of all Europe. Do you know what the result will be? You will be smashed to pieces like ~~this~~ watch," and he flung his watch violently against the floor.

trived by the British government, and the agent was an Irishman, who called himself Charles Leopold, Baron de Kolli, but whose real name appears to have been Kelly. He was furnished with ample credentials, and under pretext of having some valuable articles for sale, was permitted to enter the prison of the Spanish prince. Ferdinand, however, from some motive which has never been accurately explained, instead of embracing the project for his deliverance, disclosed the whole plan to the French government; and in the official account of the affair published by Napoleon, he is represented as saying, that the English had done much injury to the Spanish nation, and continued to cause blood to be shed in his name; and that he was anxious again to manifest his sentiments of inviolable fidelity to the Emperor Napoleon, and the horror which he felt at this infernal project, of which he wished the authors and abettors to meet condign punishment.

Previous to the departure of Napoleon on his northern tour, an accident occurred at Paris, from which the Imperial Family narrowly escaped destruction. A grand fête was given by the Austrian Ambassador in honor of Maria Louisa, to which twelve hundred persons were invited. The drapery having by some means caught fire, the room was quickly enveloped in flames, and all attempts to check the progress of the conflagration proved unavailing. Napoleon and the Empress left the room at the first alarm; and such was

the terror that prevailed, that in rushing out many were thrown down and trampled on, and his sister, the Queen of Naples, was only saved by the exertions of the Grand Duke of Wurtzbourg. Eugene Beauharnois had also nearly perished; but the most afflictive circumstance attendant on this catastrophe, was the death of the Princess Pauline Schwartzemburg, who after having escaped, rushed again into the flames in search of one of her daughters. Her body was recognized by her diamonds.

Events occurred in the North of Europe this year of nearly as much importance as those of the last. Prince Charles of Augustenberg, who had been chosen successor to the Swedish crown, landed at Gottenburg on the 9th of January, and made his entrance at midnight, preceded by a cavalcade of horsemen bearing torches in their hands, while twenty thousand lamps illuminated the streets through which he passed. He reached Stockholm on the 24th, where he took the oaths of fidelity, and received the homage of the States. Great distress and confusion prevailed at this time in the country. The public debt amounted to forty millions, for which no interest had been paid for the last two years. The different States of the kingdom were at variance amongst themselves, and some proposals had been made for abolishing Episcopacy. The new Crown Prince was supposed to possess those virtues and talents which were calculated to heal these dissensions, and he

soon became exceedingly popular, his benevolent disposition being manifested in visiting the prisons and hospitals, and by various other means endeavouring to promote the interests of the people.

But his career of royalty proved extremely transient, for on the 29th of May as he was reviewing some cavalry regiments near Helsingburgh, he was apparently seized with a fit, fell from his horse, and instantly expired. Rumours were soon circulated that this melancholy event was the result of poison; and the unsettled state of the country was extremely favourable to the reception of such an opinion by the people. Their suspicions fell on the two noble families of Piper and Fersen; and when the funeral procession reached Stockholm on the 20th of June, the fury of the populace broke out in violent acts of outrage. The procession was led by Count Axel Fersen, in virtue of his office of High Marshal. He was quickly assailed with hooting and hissing; a volley of stones succeeding, he was struck in the face, and he escaped with difficulty into an adjoining house. Baron Silversparre, the Adjutant-General, arriving at this moment, a cry was set up, 'that Count Fersen had murdered the Crown Prince.' Silversparre endeavoured to appease the people by assuring them in the King's name, that Fersen should be brought to trial. They seemed satisfied for a moment by this assurance, and began to disperse. The unfortunate Count Fersen now proceeded to the Town-House,

where a regiment of guards was drawn up for his protection. With the assistance of a few friends he made his way into the guard-room; but the mob, perceiving they had little opposition to encounter, burst into the guard-room, seized Count Fersen by the legs, and threw him on the ground. —They then took the rings out of his ears, cut off his hair, and dragged him out, and in the presence of the regiment of guards they murdered him by repeated strokes of staves and umbrellas. After the commission of this barbarous act, the rioters still continuing embodied, were fired on by the guards, who had previously shewn so little inclination to protect the unhappy nobleman who had fallen a victim to popular fury. In the conflict which ensued about one hundred of the populace were killed or wounded, and five of the soldiers lost their lives.

Vengeance having been also denounced against the Countess of Piper, sister of Count Fersen, she took refuge in the fortress of Wrexholm. M. Rossi, the Chief Physician of the Crown Prince, was arrested; and Count Fabian Fersen, brother to the murdered Count, resigned his office as Lord Chamberlain. A strict investigation was set on foot, to ascertain the cause of the death of the Crown Prince; and a reward of twenty thousand rix-dollars was offered to any person, who could give such evidence of the murder as would convict the perpetrator however exalted in rank. But though for a time, it seemed to be a prevalent opinion,

that the catastrophe had been effected through foreign influence, yet in the end the public seemed generally satisfied that the Crown Prince was carried off by a stroke of apoplexy.

The choice of a successor to the vacant dignity now occupied the attention of the Swedish nation. Four candidates presented themselves, viz. the eldest son of the deposed Gustavus; the Prince of Holstein, eldest brother of the late Crown Prince; the King of Denmark; and Marshal Bernadotte, Prince of Ponte-Corvo. The States assembled at Orebro, on the 15th of August to decide on this important business; and though Napoleon by a letter informed the States, that it was not his intention to interfere in their choice, yet his pleasure being sufficiently understood, the old King on the 18th of August proposed His Serene Highness Jean Baptiste Julien Bernadotte, Prince of Poute-Corvo, as Crown Prince, and his Majesty's successor to the Swedish throne. The unanimous voice of the people, the King said, loudly declared in his favour. Brilliant exploits had illumined his name as a warrior; eminent talents had marked him as one of the most skilful statesmen of the age, while he was universally admired for the probity of his character and the mildness of his manners. The States, after a discussion of half an hour, gave their unanimous sanction to the King's opinion; and the Prince of Ponte-Corvo was declared Crown Prince, on condition that before his arrival in the Swedish

territory, he should embrace the Evangelical Lutheran religion, and sign the conditions which they should present to him. This may be considered as another of the many wonderful results of the French Revolution, that a man who had commenced his career as a private soldier in the French army, should be elevated to the rank of successor to a long line of princes, by the apparently unanimous voice of the nation; and that this choice should have been since confirmed, by the approbation of the ancient Sovereign Houses of Europe.

Having made a public profession of the Lutheran religion, and conformed to the other points required by the States, Bernadotte proceeded to Sweden; and on the 1st of November he was presented to the Diet by the King. His speech to the States upon this occasion was expressive of his gratitude for the high honour they had conferred upon him. He recommended to them the encouragement of industry, commerce, and the arts of peace. Sweden, he said, had suffered great losses, but the honour of the Swedish name had suffered no attaint; and they should recollect that Providence had still left them a soil sufficient for their support, and iron to defend it. He soon after took the oaths, and was adopted as the son of the King by the name of Charles John.

From this period Bernadotte may be considered as the virtual ruler of Sweden, and he soon gave the strongest proofs of his anxiety to promote the

real interests of the nation. France was at this time pressing her to a war with England, and the rigid enforcement of the continental system, a measure to which the unanimous feeling of the Swedes was opposed. The remonstrances of the Swedish Minister at Paris on this subject proved fruitless, and Napoleon declared that his ambassador should immediately quit Stockholm unless his mandate were obeyed. The prohibitory decree against English commerce which followed, rather discovered marks of her weakness than of her enmity towards Great Britain.

A brutal warfare was still carried on to no effectual purpose between the Turks and Russians, in which two hundred thousand combatants are said to have been engaged on the side of the latter, and three hundred thousand on that of the former. The Ottoman forces were routed in several bloody battles; and Widdin, Georgivo, and other fortresses on the Danube submitted to their adversaries; but these misfortunes only tended to rouse the Turks to fresh exertions. They sent a fleet into the Black Sea, and made demonstrations of attacking the Crimea, in order to create a diversion in favor of the Grand Vizier, whose army was encamped at Schumla. The Russians, in the mean time, concentrated their troops, for the purpose of advancing into Rumania, upon which the Grand Vizier retreated over the Bukarian mountains with the greater part of his army, in order to defend the approaches to

Adrianople. The Grand Signior also declared his intention of taking the field in person, but he never quitted his capital. Rudschuck having fallen after an obstinate contest, the Russians, at the close of the campaign, were in possession of all the strong places on the right bank of the Danube one hundred leagues upwards from its mouth. Negotiations for peace were opened in the course of the year; but neither party seemed yet sufficiently weakened to induce them to accept of the proffered terms of accommodation.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

The Peninsular War.—Exploits of the Guerillas.—The French advance towards Andalusia.—Description of that Province.—Marshal Soult forces the Passes of the Sierra Morena.—Sebastiani defeats Ariezaga near Alcala Real, and enters Granada, and Malaga.—Joseph Bonaparte arrives at Cordova, and issues a Proclamation to the Spanish Nation.—Flight of the Spanish Junta from Seville, which surrenders to Marshal Victor.—Joseph addresses the French Army in the style of a Conqueror.—Victor marches towards Cadiz, which is preserved by the gallant exertions of the Duke de Albuquerque.—Comotions at Cadiz.—Resignation of the Supreme Junta, and appointment of a Regency.—The Inhabitants make the most vigorous preparations for the Defence of the City.—Description of Cadiz and the Isle de Leon.—Joseph Bonaparte fixes his Head-quarters at St. Mary's.—Noble Reply of the Duke de Albuquerque to the Summons of Marshal Soult.—The Enemy obtain possession of Fort Matagorda.—Dreadful Gale in the Bay of Cadiz.—Disputes between the Junta of Cadiz and the Duke de Albuquerque.—The Duke resigns the Command, and is appointed Ambassador to the Court of London.—Death of the Duke de Albuquerque.—Successful Operations of Generals Blake and Lacy in Granada, and the neighbourhood of Ronda.—Failure of an Expedition against Malaga.—Hostilities in the Eastern Provinces.—Suchet fails in an Attempt upon Valencia.—Siege of the Castle of Hostalrich.—Gallant Efforts of O'Donnell for the Relief of that Fortress.—Battle of Vich.—Surrender of Hostalrich, Lerida, and Mequinenza.—Siege of

Tortosa.—Heroic Exploit of O'Donnell at Bisbal.—The French obtain possession of Tortosa and Col de Balaguer.—Meeting of the Spanish Cortes.—Plan for electing the Deputies.—Ceremonial used at the Opening of the Cortes.—Appointment of a new Regency.—Legislative Proceedings of this Assembly.—Debate on the Liberty of the Press.—Self-denying Ordinance.

**T**HE Spanish Peninsula had now become, through one of those strange mutations to which a state of general hostility is so liable, the principal seat of European warfare; and the public attention was almost wholly directed towards the progress of a contest upon which so much depended. On the one hand, the ruler of France, hitherto the most fortunate warrior that the world had for many ages beheld, exerted every effort to add this to his other conquests, in order to obtain that accession of maritime strength, which could alone enable him to contend against the preponderating power of Britain, and enforce effectually his measures for the destruction of her commerce.—On the other, a brave people, stripped of nearly every thing but their independence, seemed resolved, notwithstanding the numerous disasters which they had sustained, to maintain the struggle to the last. At the close of 1809 the last Spanish army had been driven from the field, and the communications between the Provincial Juntas and the Central Government being completely cut off, each applied its resources to the defence of

the district under its own immediate jurisdiction. Hence the guerilla system became most harrassing to the enemy, and a wearing, wasting war commenced, against which discipline proved wholly unavailing. These warlike bands were composed of the inhabitants of the towns, the mountains, and the vallies, mingled with regular soldiers from the armies which had been dispersed ; and among their leaders were to be found clergymen, physicians, students, and even husbandmen. Don Francisco Epoz y Mina was the terror of the French in Navarre ; Longa commanded the guerilla parties in Arragon ; Don Julian Sanchez in Old Castile and Leon ; Don Ventura Ximenes extended his incursions from Badajoz to Toledo ; and Don Juan Martin, who was surnamed the Empecinado,\* scoured the mountains of the Guadalaxarra, and frequently spread alarm to the very gates of the capital. Every day some post of the invaders was surprized, their convoys cut off, plundering parties put to death, or despatches intercepted. When the French army marched from one province to

\* This celebrated leader is said to have acquired the name of Empecinado, (which signifies the Devil) from the following circumstance :—His whole family having been murdered by the French, he smeared himself with pitch in the first agony of his grief, and vowed never to cease from seeking vengeance while a single Frenchman remained alive in Spain. He kept his vow so well, that the enemy are supposed to have suffered a loss of many thousand men by the exertions of his band alone.

another, the country which they abandoned was immediately re-organized in the name of Ferdinand VII. and the French posts were kept in such a state of constant blockade, that they were not in reality masters of more than the ground they trod on.

The peasants in some of the provinces went always armed, and while the husbandman guided his plough with the one hand, he held in the other a sword. Provisions and ammunition could only be conveyed to the French armies under strong escorts, and they had frequently to cut their way through the mountains by force of arms. When they entered a town or village, all seemed to be at peace; but at the moment of their departure the inhabitants flew to arms to harrass their detachments among the rocks, and cut off their rear-guards. They frequently inflicted a dreadful punishment on the French for the injuries which they had suffered from them, and like avenging vultures, they followed their columns at a distance to kill every straggling or disabled soldier. After the battle of Ocana, great, but fruitless efforts were made by the French to destroy these patriotic bands. But they could not be discomfited like regular armies. When in danger of being attacked, they dispersed, buried their weapons, and having nothing in their dress to distinguish them from the rest of the peasants, and knowing the country perfectly, they could quickly re-assemble at the appointed rallying-place, when

the danger had passed over. Such events, instead of dispiriting them, only increased the numbers, the activity, and the confidence of the guerillas.

At the opening of the campaign of 1810, the French had strong grounds for indulging the hope, that their further operations in the Peninsula would be crowned with complete and speedy success.—Nearly all the fortresses in Spain were in their hands; most of the patriot generals had during the preceding year been driven from the field; while the victorious army of Lord Wellington, notwithstanding his brilliant victory at Talavera, had been obliged to retire into Portugal, for want of that vigorous co-operation on the part of the Spanish government, which could alone have rendered that great triumph advantageous to the cause of their country. The enemy were also assured that though the spirit of patriotism remained unabated amongst the people, the Supreme Junta was wholly deficient of those talents, which were requisite to direct that spirit in such a manner as was necessary to give permanent security to the liberty and independence of the kingdom.

The conquest of Andalusia appeared now only wanting to complete the subjugation of Spain to the yoke of the usurper. The famous chain of mountains called the Sierra Morena separates this delightful province\* from La Mancha, and Marshal

\* M. Rocca, a French officer, has furnished us with many amusing particulars relative to this province and its inhabitants :

**Soult was ordered to cross the Sierra early in the year with fifty thousand men. The Andalusians**

some extracts from his work may not prove uninteresting to the reader :—

“The moment one passes the mountains,” says M. Rocca, “one enters Andalusia. The difference of heat in the atmosphere is instantly perceptible, and the magnificence of the landscape that presents itself forms a striking contrast with the sterility of the Black Mountains. The husbandmen were occupied in gathering olives, and the country presented towards the end of winter, that smiling and animated appearance which is only seen in more northern climates at vintage or harvest time.

“The road lay between long plantations of olives, under whose protecting shade vines and corn were alternately springing. The fields are surrounded by hedges of aloes whose leaves are as pointed as lances, and whose straight slender stems shoot up to the height of trees. Here and there we saw tufted orchards planted with orange trees behind the dwelling houses; and on the waste lands on the banks of the rivulets, the white laurel and the oleander were then in flower.”

“Andalusia is undoubtedly by nature the most fertile and opulent part of Spain. There is a proverb current in the Castilles, and La Mancha, that *the waters of the Guadalquivir fatten more horses than the barley of other countries*. The bread of Andalusia is considered as the whitest and most exquisite in the world, and the olives are of most extraordinary size: the air is so serene and pure, that one may sleep in it during the greater part of the year; and one frequently sees men lying all night in the virandas in summer, and sometimes even in winter. A number of individuals who are not very rich, travel without troubling themselves to seek a nightly lodging; they carry their provisions with them, or buy such food as is prepared by women on stoves, at the gates or in the great squares of large cities, for passengers. The poor never ask

relied with confidence on the strength of the passes, and the Supreme Junta circulated statements, that no means had been neglected to place Ariezaga's army on the most respectable footing, and that the necessary works for strengthening the passes were carried on with the greatest activity. The Duke del Parque's force was at this time at a considerable distance; but the chief hope of the people seemed to rest on the Duke of Albuquerque, who was at Don Benito, with twelve thousand men, having detachments at Truxillo and on the Tagus. The Spanish forces in the Sierra Morena, however, did not exceed

each other, whether they have a house to live in, as in other countries, but they inquire if they have a cloak sufficient to preserve them from the immediate influence of the sun's rays in summer, and to throw off the winter rains."

"In Andalusia, still more than any other province in the Peninsula, one meets with traces and monuments of the Arabs at every step; and it is the singular mixture of the customs and usages of the east with Christian manners, which distinguishes the Spanish from the other nations of Europe. The town houses are almost all built on the Moresco plan; in the middle they have a large court paved with flags, in the centre of which there is a basin, whence fountains continually rise and refresh the air; the basin is shaded by the cypress and the lemon tree. Trelice work, supporting orange trees, whose leaves, flowers, and fruit last all the year, frequently covers the walls. The different apartments communicate with each other by the court, and there is commonly an interior gate on the same side with the door, opening to the street. In the ancient palaces of the Moorish kings and nobles, such as

twenty thousand men, and these were still sorely dismayed after their terrible defeat at Ocana.

Marshal Soult commenced his operations by making several movements towards the Sierra, particularly the two extremities, to induce Ariezaga to abandon the centre at the pass, which constitutes the high road from Madrid to Cadiz. In this he completely succeeded, for the Spanish General detached the flower of his troops to his two flanks to prevent his being turned, and on the 20th of January, Soult made a general attack. Mortier with the centre of the French, marched by the high road to Andujar, while Gazan's

the Alhambra in Granada, the courts are surrounded with colonnades or porticos, where narrow and numerous arches are supported by very tall slender columns; ordinary houses have a single and very plain interior court, with a cistern shaded by a large citron tree in one corner.

"The Andalusians bring up numerous flocks, which they feed in the plains during winter, and send in summer to graze on the tops of the mountains. The yearly and customary transmigration of large flocks at fixed times, originated in Arabia, where the practice is very ancient. The Andalusian horses are descended from the generous breed brought over in former times by the Arabs, and the same distinctions, paid in Arabia to pure and noble blood in these animals, are also still regarded in Spain."

"In some parts of Spain, the country people, and particularly the farm servants, sleep stretched out upon mats which they roll up and carry along with them. This Eastern custom explains the words of our Saviour, "Take up thy bed and walk."—*Rocca's Memoirs of the War of the French in Spain.*

division forced the Spanish intrenchments. Victor on the right and Sebastiani on the left, encountered greater resistance; but they were ultimately successful, and the Spaniards were driven from all their positions after suffering a loss of six thousand men. King Joseph, who accompanied the invading columns, now fixed his head-quarters at Baylen, where the French arms had, in the first year of the war, been so eminently disgraced.

Ariezaga retreated towards Granada for the purpose of making a diversion in favour of Seville and Cadiz; but on the 27th he was attacked and defeated by Sebastiani near Alcala Real, and after abandoning his artillery, he fled with his cavalry into Murcia. The gates of Granada were opened to Sebastiani on the following day, and contrary to the general conduct manifested by the inhabitants of other towns in Spain, he was received with the most enthusiastic acclamations. Having thrown a garrison, of fifteen hundred men into the fortress of Alhambra, he proceeded to Malaga, which was in a state of great commotion. All the old authorities who had been suspected of favouring the French were sent from the city, and a crusade was preached up night and day by the monks against the invaders of the country. An army had been formed, composed of the inhabitants of the city and the mountainous country around, of which a Capuchin friar had been

appointed the General, and most of the officers were monks. Having seized the great pass in the mountain, they dug deep trenches across the road; but Sebastiani advancing against them on the 5th of February, drove them from all their fastnesses, and after slaughtering fifteen hundred of them, entered Malaga with the flying Spaniards. The possession of this city was extremely important to the French, as the communication was then cut off between the eastern maritime provinces of Spain and the country in the neighbourhood of Gibraltar and Cadiz.

While Sebastiani thus penetrated to Granada and Malaga, Mortier was detached to occupy Estramadura; but his progress was checked at Badajoz, into which the vigilant Albuquerque had thrown a garrison. Marshal Soult entered Cordova on the 27th, and from thence King Joseph issued a manifesto to the Spanish nation, in which he sagaciously stated, that when an extraordinary revolution had precipitated the reigning family from the throne of France, the Spanish branch of the Bourbons ought either to have supported the elder, or reconciled themselves to the idea of falling with it. Their Princes, he continued, not daring to appeal to arms, had renounced the crown, and made stipulations for their particular interests. Their Grandees had taken the oath of allegiance to him at Madrid, and the contest which had never been doubtful, he said, was now decided. He threatened the country with dis-

memberment, if the Spaniards should continue to be the dupes of passions excited by the common enemy; and to avoid this extremity, he exhorted them to rally round him, which would be the commencement of a new era of glory and happiness to Spain. A short period, however, was sufficient to convince King Joseph, that he would have acted more wisely to have pushed on his victorious legions to Cadiz, instead of wasting his time in writing bombastic proclamations.

The approach of the enemy caused the greatest consternation at Seville, and the imbecile Junta removed with their valuable effects to Cadiz, having previously encouraged the people with the most fallacious hopes. But the departure of the Junta filled them with indignation, and the inhabitants loudly called for their deposition. Such was the state of things in Seville when Marshal Victor appeared before the city on the 1st of February. The garrison consisted of only seven thousand men, though sixty thousand would have been required to man its fortifications. Resistance would, therefore, have been absurd, and Seville surrendered on favourable terms. The French, by this conquest, obtained possession of two hundred pieces of ordnance, one hundred and forty of which were battering cannon, and an immense quantity of ammunition and provisions.

From the Alcazar of Seville, Joseph addressed the French army in the language of a conqueror, as if the subjugation of Spain had now been

finally accomplished. After bestowing some abusive epithets on England in the usual style, he told the soldiers, that the battle of Ocana had confounded all the mad projects of their enemies—the barriers interposed by nature between the north and south of Spain had fallen down, and on this side of the Sierra Morena, they had found only friends. He told them that the Emperor should be made acquainted with their good conduct, and declared it to be the will of the King of Spain that between the two columns of Hercules, a third should be erected, that should carry to the most distant posterity, and to the navigators of the two worlds, the knowledge of the chiefs, and French corps that had conquered Spain.

King Joseph, however, acted wisely, in not commencing the erection of the trophy, until his conquest was secured in reality, as well as by anticipation. To bring the struggle to a glorious termination, Marshal Victor was ordered to proceed against Cadiz, whilst Mortier threatened Badajoz, having under his orders the corps of General Regnier, who was to watch the valley of the Tagus. Had the expedition for the reduction of Cadiz been undertaken a few days earlier, it might have been crowned with success, from the defenceless state in which the city and the Isle of Leon were at that period; but the celerity and vigilance of the gallant Albuquerque had now placed them in a capacity of resisting the utmost efforts of the invaders.

The greater part of the members of the Supreme Junta had, after their flight from Seville, taken refuge in the Isle of Leon. The whole number amounted to eighty-six, some of whom submitted to the usurper, while Count Tilly found means to go to Philadelphia, with a fortune, it was said, of three millions of dollars. Previous to their leaving Seville, the Junta had sent to Albuquerque, orders of the most imprudent nature; but General Castanos, who knew the imminence of the danger, and suspected the designs of the Junta, sent him a confidential letter, urging him to proceed with the greatest celerity to the Isle of Leon; and the brave Albuquerque, disregarding the mandates of the Junta, flew, at every risque, to the protection of the last hope of his country. He crossed the Guadalquiver with ten thousand men, on the 23d of January, at Cantillana, and proceeding rapidly by Carmona, Utrera, Xeres, and Areos, he entered the Isle of Leon on the morning of the 2d of February, having accomplished a march of two hundred and sixty English miles, during a considerable part of which he was pursued by the French cavalry, and he crossed the swamp near Cadiz, which is generally impassable at that season of the year, without the loss of a man.

Cadiz was at this time in a state of the greatest commotion, and almost defenceless. When the news arrived that the Junta had fled from Seville, the people of Cadiz liberated the Count de

Montejo and Don Francisco Palafox, who had been imprisoned on a charge of conspiring against the government. On the arrival of the members of the Junta, they were surrounded by the people, who loudly demanded that they should resign their functions, and appoint a Regency. This was refused; but the Junta consented to admit Palafox and Montejo as members; and they appointed the Marquis of Romana commander of the army in Castile in the room of the Duke del Parque. The Archbishop of Laodicea, the President of the Junta, with some other members, were about the same period, imprisoned by the populace at Xeres, and would probably have been put to death, had not Castanos exerted himself to procure their liberation. The disposition manifested by the people at length convinced the Junta that they had completely lost their authority, and they consented to appoint a Regency, to be composed of the following members: Don Pedro de Quevedo y Quintana, the Bishop of Orense; Don Francisco de Saavedra, late President of the Junta of Seville; Castanos, Captain-General of Andalusia; Don Antonio de Escaño, Minister of Marine; and Don Miguel de Lardizabal y Ariba, a native of Tlascala in New Spain, and a member of the Council of the Indies. These appointments gave very general satisfaction, as most of the members had already given the most decided proofs of their patriotism. The Junta accompanied their resignation with a fare-

well address to the Spanish nation, in which, while they acknowledged that in their administration there might be some things to condemn, yet surely there was much to applaud, as they had strengthened their connexions with foreign powers, and resisted with dignity the perfidious overtures of the enemy. They had been unjustly censured because they were unfortunate; but the world would, one day, excuse their errors and do justice to their intentions.

Vigorous exertions were now resorted to for the purpose of presenting the most determined resistance to the enemy's attack. Persons of every rank and age were to be seen working at the batteries. Magazines of provisions and ammunition were established, and a general enlistment took place of all who were capable of bearing arms. The fleet was moved to the outer harbour, ready to point their sails in case of necessity, and the direction of it was entrusted to Admiral Purvis, whose squadron was in the harbour of Cadiz. The garrison of the city was speedily increased to upwards of twenty-two thousand men, of whom four thousand were English under General Graham, sixteen thousand five hundred Spaniards, and one thousand seven hundred Portuguese.

The city of Cadiz stands upon a tongue of land, seven miles in length, extending from the Isle of Leon into the bay. This isthmus is from a quarter to half a-mile in breadth, being flanked

on one side by the sea, and on the other by the Bay of Cadiz. An enemy, who had made himself master of the island, must pass along this isthmus, where new batteries had been formed, new works thrown up, and mines dug; and after overcoming all these obstacles, he would be opposed by the regular fortifications of the city, which had now been rendered nearly impregnable. Formerly the great object of the Spanish government had been to strengthen Cadiz on the sea-side; but after the invasion of the French, and particularly since the arrival of the Duke de Albuquerque, the most active efforts were put into operation to demolish all the works from whence the shipping could be annoyed. Night and day the sound of explosions was heard, until every building on the isthmus was removed.

The population of Cadiz was at this time estimated at eighty thousand, without including the garrison, fugitives, and prisoners, (confined on board the hulks) who might have amounted to as many more. The bay is so extensive, that there are distinct stations for the ships from different quarters of the globe. Vessels from European ports are moored in front of the town. More to the east, in the canal of Trocadero, ships belonging to the South American trade are moored and unrigged. In the bay of Puntales the vessels of the Royal Navy, when disarmed, are moored close to the magazines, which are situated on La Carracca. The entrance of the Trocadero is defended

by Forts Louis and Matagorda, whose fire crosses that of the Puntales. The Isle de Leon is separated from La Carracca by a basin nine hundred feet long and six hundred feet in breadth, and from the Isle to the Carrack across an arm of the sea, is about a quarter of a league. The Isle de Leon, forms an irregular triangle, the longest side of which is separated from the main land by the river Santi Petri, and on this side it is strongly fortified both by nature and art. The bridge of Zuazo, built originally by the Romans over this channel, is flanked with batteries, and communicates with the continent by a causeway over impassable marshes. In the middle of the island is the chief town, bearing the same name, and containing about forty thousand inhabitants; and a little north stands St. Carlos, which is chiefly composed of barracks and other public buildings. The greatest danger that menaced Cadiz, in case of a siege, was the want of water, their only domestic supply of this invaluable necessary of life arising from what they could collect from their wells and *axotoes*, or flat roofs, after rain. The water procured by this precarious resource was, however, fit only for culinary purposes, and that which was drank by the inhabitants was brought at a great expense from the springs of Port St. Mary's.

On the 6th of February, King Joseph fixed his head-quarters at St Mary's, and the French army

was in possession of the whole surrounding country. Marshal Victor commanded the siege, and his operations were combined with those of Sebastiani, who communicated with him by Ronda and Marbella. Cadiz was garrisoned by the new levies and volunteers, while the English, Portuguese, and Albuquerque's corps were quartered in the Isle of Leon, to approach which the enemy found obstructions almost insuperable. The causeway which led to the island would scarcely admit four men abreast: it was defended on both sides by batteries, each mounting eight twelve pounders; deep trenches intersected the road, and on the borders of the causeway were dykes or fosses. Further onward was a trench two hundred feet in breadth, and the pass still more inward called the bridge of Zerazo was destroyed. This pass was defended by a series of batteries, each of them mounting twenty thirty-pounders. Such were the obstacles which the French had to overcome before they could approach the ramparts of Cadiz.

On the 10th, Marshal Soult sent a summons to the Duke of Albuquerque, dated from Chiclana, demanding the surrender of Cadiz, and inviting him to a conference to settle the terms. The reply was worthy of the heroic chief by whom it was sent. The Duke informed Marshal Soult that the strength of Cadiz had nothing to fear from one hundred thousand men, that the Spaniards, faithful to Ferdinand, assisted by the English, would not lay down their arms till they should

recover their just rights; that they were not to be intimidated by the irruption of the French, who were masters only of the ground they occupied. He therefore advised Marshal Soult to renounce the idea of sacrificing his troops to no purpose, and he declined the conference to which the Marshal had invited him, until by the restoration of Ferdinand VII. to Spain, and the removal of all foreign troops, he should be in a situation to accept his obliging offer. A message from King Joseph to the Junta of Cadiz met with a similar reception.

The French, finding that a regular attack upon the Isle de Leon was too perilous an attempt, occupied the shores of the bay, fortified their positions, and endeavoured to annoy as much as possible, the shipping and the town. The Spaniards on the other hand, were actively engaged in constructing fresh means of defence, and they were liberally supplied with money from their colonies in South America; abundance of flour was brought by the trading vessels of the United States, and the discovery of a spring in or near the city supplied them with water, of which they stood so much in need since the occupation of Port St. Mary's by the enemy. The only point from which it was supposed the besiegers could alarm the town was Fort Matagorda. which the Spaniards had dismantled at their approach. The enemy perceiving the advantages it would afford them, began to re-construct it; but they were

again dispossessed of this point of attack by the British; and a company of the 94th regiment, with small detachments of artillery, seamen, and marines, were left for its defence, under the command of Captain Maclaine of the 94th. This small force which consisted of only one hundred and forty-five men, defended the fort for two months against all the efforts of the enemy; but the place being reduced to a heap of ruins, they were at length driven from it by red-hot shot. During the last two days Major Lefebvre of the Royal Engineers with sixteen men were killed, and fifty-seven wounded.

The Spaniards suffered a heavier loss on the 5th of March by a tremendous gale, which had continued for four days with undiminished violence. One Spanish first-rate, two seventy-fours, a frigate, a Portuguese ship of the line, and forty merchant vessels went a-shore on the side of the bay in the possession of the enemy. The men-of-war and many of the merchant ships were burnt, and the French obtained possession of much booty and a number of prisoners by the melancholy disaster. The conduct of the French soldiers upon this occasion was spoken of with deserved praise, as through their humane exertions the lives of six or seven hundred sailors, mostly English, were preserved.\*

\* After the storm, 7000 boxes of quicksilver were picked up by the *Triumph*, a British man of war. They were stowed in

The siege of Cadiz now attracted very general attention, but hostilities were carried on with extreme languor. The strength of the Isle of Leon rendered any attack on the part of the enemy hopeless, while a want of energy and spirit in the Spanish government, prevented any effort on the part of the garrison to molest the besieging army. The city was, at the same time, torn by dissensions, and the people displayed such an indolent apathy to the alarming scenes by which they were surrounded, that numbers of them were to be met every day assembled on the ramparts, wrapped in their long cloaks, looking on for hours, while the English were busily engaged in carrying on the works necessary for their defence.

The authority of the Regency was rather nominal than real, the Junta of Cadiz possessing the unlimited confidence of the people, of which they made the most unworthy use. They endeavoured to over-rule the Regency, and engross as much authority as possible to themselves, while Albuquerque became the marked object of their dislike, because he had recognised the Regency, at a moment, when, if he had hesitated, the Junta would have struggled to get the go-

the store-room and the hold. The heat having cracked them, several tons of the metal ran about the ship, which destroyed the provisions, and so affected three hundred of the crew, that they were obliged to be removed into transports.

vernment into their own hands. Contrary to his desire, that brave nobleman had been appointed governor of Cadiz by the unanimous wish of the people, who justly considered him as their deliverer; yet he solicited the Junta in vain for pay, clothing, and other necessities for his little army, which had flown with such rapidity to their relief. The Junta, chiefly composed of merchants, were said to have been impelled to this conduct by motives of the most sordid nature. Albuquerque, by the advice of the Regency, published the memorial which he had presented to the Junta, and the wants of his troops were liberally supplied by the people. This measure exasperated that body to the highest degree, and they published an attack upon the Duke, in which they charged him with exposing the wants and weakness of his army, and even insulted him by saying, that his cavalry had retreated too precipitately, and ought to have brought in grain with them. The high-minded Albuquerque knew that from resenting this base and ungrateful attack dangerous consequences would ensue, and without resenting it, he found it impossible to remain at the head of the army. He accordingly resigned his command, and accepted the office of ambassador to the Court of London.\* General Blake was nominated

\* The malice of the Junta pursued this illustrious man even to the country in which he was in a kind of honourable exile. He smothered his resentment till his anxiety for the safety of Cadiz

his successor; but as he was then engaged in re-organizing the wreck of Ariezaga's army, Castanos was provisionally entrusted with the command of the forces in the Isle de Leon. The siege of Cadiz was productive of no other important event during the remainder of the year.

was removed, and then he published a statement of his conduct, which was dated at London, December 12th, 1810. In this he affirmed, that he had communicated with the Junta in a frank and confidential manner, until he found that they did not contemplate the public interest as much as they pretended; and he asserted that he had the best authority for saying, that they employed the national funds in commerce, the profits of which were to be appropriated to their own private use. This was presented to the Cortes, who had, at that time assembled, and was received with distinguished respect. Eulogiums, not more flattering than they were deserved, were heard from all sides, and on the 14th of January 1811, they transmitted their resolution to the Council of Regency, that the Duke d' Albuquerque and his army had deserved well of their country, particularly in preserving Cadiz and the Isle de Leon; and they desired that the Regency would recall him from England, that he might again be employed in the army. The Council of Regency immediately despatched orders to the Duke to repair to Galicia, to take the chief command of the whole north of Spain.

The Junta of Cadiz replied to the Duke's statement in the form of a hand-bill signed by all the members, in which they called him in direct terms, an impudent calumniator, and an enemy to his country; and to add to the insult, this hand-bill was transmitted by a private hand to London, and sent to the Duke by the two-penny post with the seal broken. Had he previously received the resolution of the Cortes, and the appointment of the Regency, he would have despised the mean revenge of the Junta. But

A constant fire was kept up between Fort Matagorda and the Fort of Puntales. The French batteries at the Trocadero annoyed our vessels as they passed, and the British gun-boats retaliated by keeping the French posts on the bay in a state of continual alarm. Towards the close of

this not being the case, his mind got a shock which proved fatal to him. Contrary to the persuasions of his friends, who advised him to despise these petty efforts of malice, he spent nearly three days and nights, almost without food or sleep, in drawing up a reply to the Junta. On the fourth day, which was the 15th of February, he was seized with a phrenzy. He seemed perfectly sensible of the cause, for when the disease approached, having sent for D. J. M. Blanco White, he handed him a strip of paper on which he had written "*como calumniador y enemigo de la patria.*" These were the words that had stung him to the heart. "When they ask," said the heroic Albuquerque, "why I have lost my senses, this paper will answer for me." A flood of tears was now followed by paroxysms of rage, filled with the bitterest execrations against the tyrant, whose ambition had brought such unparalleled miseries upon Spain; and on the third day he expired, in his thirty-seventh year. His remains were deposited with an affecting magnificence which had not been witnessed since the funeral of Nelson, in Henry VIIIth's chapel, until they should be removed to his native country. The eulogy of this brave warrior and patriot was worthily pronounced in the House of Lords by the Marquis Wellesley; and the Cortes, in suitable and emphatic language, expressed their sorrow for the loss of the man who had been the first to quit the Spanish army in Denmark and fly to the succour of his country; who had always fought the French with glory, who, in the character of a commander-in-chief, had defeated them in a variety of actions; and lastly, who had preserved the ground on which they now stood.

the year the enemy began to throw shells into Cadiz, but the distance was so great that they produced little effect.

During the operations of the siege the neighbouring districts were a constant theatre of sanguinary hostilities. General Blake having collected the remains of Ariezaga's army, excited the inhabitants of Alpujarras, a mountainous district of Granada, to arms, and compelled a French battalion stationed at Montril to fall back to Velez Malaga. General Don Luis Lacy, with five thousand men landed at Algeziras, and marched on Ronda, from which the French, amounting to six thousand, returned with precipitation, having been alarmed by exaggerated reports of the strength of the Spaniards. A great quantity of arms, ammunition and provisions was found in this place, and Lacy's force was soon increased by volunteers to twelve thousand. A murderous warfare was now carried on in this district between Sebastiani's troops and the patriots; and though the latter were defeated in several actions, they remained unsubdued, and every day prisoners or spoils taken from the French, were brought into Gibraltar by those ferocious mountaineers. Blake, at the same time, raised the inhabitants of the mountains which separate Murcia, Granada, and Jaen. The Spanish force soon amounted to near seventeen thousand men; but on Sebastiani marching against them on the 23d of April, they retired after some fighting to Alicant, from

whence they detached seven thousand men to Carthagena.

On the 23d of August, General Lacy embarked at Cadiz with fifteen hundred men, on board an English squadron, commanded by Captain George Cockburn. This force was destined to attack a French division under the Duke d' Aremberg, which was posted at Moguer, in the province of Seville. They were landed about four leagues from the entrance of the river Huelva, and being transported over a large branch of that river by some English flat boats, they reached Moguer in the forenoon of the 24th. The French were completely taken by surprise, and driven from the town almost without resistance; they soon, however, rallied, and endeavoured to recover the town; but the Spaniards withstood their attack with so much firmness, that they were compelled to retire with the loss of three hundred men. General Lacy on the next day sent a detachment to take possession of Niebla; but being apprised that the enemy were marching in great force to Seville, he destroyed the magazines and batteries at Moguer, and returned to Cadiz, on the 30th. The assistance of Captain Cockburn was acknowledged by the Spaniards in terms of the highest eulogy. About the same period the batteries and redoubts of St. Mary's were destroyed by the English gun-boats.

On the 11th of October an expedition sailed from Gibraltar against Malaga, which was at-

tended with a different result. The plan was to take Fort Fangarola, and thus draw the enemy from Malaga; then to reembark, and with the assistance of a reinforcement, to attempt the destruction of the enemy's works at Malaga, and the privateers which swarmed in that harbour. The land force, consisting of near five hundred men of the 89th regiment, as many German deserters, a Spanish regiment, and some artillery men, was under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Lord Blaney, and they effected a landing on the 14th, three leagues west of Fangarola. They advanced within cannon shot of the fort, when the garrison opened a fire upon them; and Lord Blaney having neither scaling ladders nor battering cannon, was obliged to bring some pieces from the ship, which he planted advantageously during the night. On the morning of the 15th, the enemy discontinued their fire, and sallied out of the fort to attack the battery; but they were repulsed by the 89th, under Major Grant, who was mortally wounded. A body of twelve hundred French arrived soon after from Malaga, and, assisted by this reinforcement, the enemy again attacked and took possession of the battery. The allies were now compelled to retreat, and Lord Blaney mistaking some of the French, who had dressed themselves in Spanish uniform, for friends, unfortunately fell into their hands. A part of the 32d regiment fortunately arrived in

time from Gibraltar to cover the reembarkation of the defeated troops.

Considerable success attended the operations of the French this year in the eastern provinces, though the Catalans still maintained that spirit of determined resistance which had marked their conduct since the commencement of the contest. After the surrender of Gerona, every fifth man was called upon to join the Spanish army, and the command was conferred upon O'Donnell, whose splendid enterprizes for the relief of that fortress, had gained him the confidence of the people. Augereau had the command of the French army in this quarter, one division of which laid siege to the castle of Hostalrich, on the 13th of January, while another marched against Lerida. General Suchot, about the same period, having entered into a correspondence with some traitors in Valencia, marched with twelve thousand men against that city, which he hoped to find an easy conquest. But the plot was discovered by the governor, Don Jose Caro, brother to Romana, the traitors were seized, and the city put in an excellent posture of defence. The French entered the suburbs on the 5th of March, but learning the failure of their project, and not being in sufficient force to undertake a siege, they quickly retired, leaving behind them a great part of the plunder which they had acquired on the road.

The castle of Hostalrich made an obstinate

defence against General Verdier, being situated on a steep and rugged mountain, and impregnable except by blockade. About the middle of February, General O'Donnell made an attempt to cut off Souham's division, and raise the siege. O'Donnell's force consisted of twelve thousand infantry and twelve hundred cavalry, besides some thousands of guerillas under Rovira, a physician. The Spaniards marched into the plain of Vich, on the 20th of February, and a sanguinary conflict immediately commenced by the guerillas attacking a French battalion stationed at Gulp, which they forced to retire. A fire of musketry now took place along the opposite lines, and the French were charged by two Swiss regiments with great bravery, while the Spanish cavalry attempted to turn their left flank. These were, however, routed by their opponents with considerable slaughter. O'Donnell now bringing forward the whole of his reserve, made vigorous efforts to penetrate the centre of the French, and attempted, at the same time, to turn them on both flanks; but all his exertions proving unavailing against the superior discipline of the enemy, he was obliged to retreat after losing (according to the French statement) about six thousand men in killed, wounded, and prisoners. During the engagement the French commander, General Souham, received a wound in the temple which occasioned the loss of his eye, but after getting his wound dressed, he returned to the

field of battle, and continued with his army to the end of the engagement.

O'Donnell, having thus experienced the folly of fighting pitched battles with his raw levies, had immediate recourse to that system of warfare, in which celerity and ardour are of more value than tactics. He retreated, without the loss of a man, under the walls of Tarragona, and sent out flying parties to annoy the pursuing enemy. Villa-Franca was surprized on the 30th of March by Don Juan Caro, and about nine hundred of the enemy were put to the sword or taken prisoners. On the 3d of April, a French column of one thousand two hundred men was defeated near Abera by General Gasco, with the loss of three-fourths of their number. These disasters compelled the French General Schwartz to evacuate Manresa, with his corps of fifteen hundred men ; but their march to Barcelona was so impeded by the intrepid Rovira, that General Milans came up with them near Saardel, and charged them with the bayonet. Five hundred of the enemy fell upon this occasion, and three hundred were made prisoners.—The whole loss of the French in those well-planned enterprizes, is stated not to have fallen short of five thousand men ; but they quickly received an accession of strength, which rendered any further attempt of O'Donnell to relive Hostalrich utterly hopeless.

The bombardment of the fortress began on the 20th of February, but the enemy soon discovered

that the garrison was composed of men of the same character as those with whom they fought at Saragossa and Gerona. The fire of the besiegers continued till every building within the walls was destroyed, except a casemate, which served as an hospital, and was capable of containing only twenty-one beds. The remainder of the sick and wounded were accommodated underground. The siege had now continued four months, and an attempt to introduce a supply of provisions having failed, the brave governor, Don Julian de Estrada, resolved, like O'Donnell at Gerona, to force his way through the enemy's lines, rather than capitulate; and after rejecting a summons which Augereau sent in, the garrison at ten o'clock at night on the 12th of May, descended the glacis on the side of St. Celoni, by moon-light, and crossed the space between the fort and the heights of Massanas. They bayonnetted those of the enemy's picquets whom they met, and about a league from Hostalrich, routed two strong bodies of the French. By this valorous enterprize about eight hundred of the garrison effected their escape; but one division lost its way and fell into the hands of the enemy, and with these the brave Julian de Estrada, the governor. Forty-two pieces of ordnance were found in the fort.

The enemy obtained possession of the important city of Lerida with much less difficulty. It surrendered to General Suchet on the 14th of

May, after fifteen days of open trenches, and three days of firing. O'Donnell had ordered the governor, if the city should be taken, to defend the fortress to the last extremity: But on the day after the enemy had entered the city, the castle was surrendered, though its works had not received the slightest injury. O'Donnell stigmatized this act of cowardice or treason as it deserved. He at the same time reminded the Catalans that many fortresses still remained in their hands; but if all these were lost, they had their inaccessible mountains; and they should recollect, that when they began the war they had neither army nor fortresses, for all their fortified places had been dismantled. The garrison of Lerida, amounting to eight thousand men, were made prisoners of war. One hundred pieces of cannon, ten thousand firelocks, and two hundred million pounds of powder fell into the hands of the French. They also obtained immense booty, as the idea entertained of the strength of the place had rendered it the depository of the money and valuable effects of many of the neighbouring towns and churches.

The surrender of Mequinenza, situated at the confluence of the Ebro and Segra, added another trophy to the French arms on the 2d of June. It bravely resisted two assaults of the enemy, and the governor, Don Manuel Carbon, did not yield till the fourth week of the siege, when the works were reduced to a heap of ruins. The whole

course of the Ebro was now open to the French, and Suchet prepared to lay siege to Tortosa. About this period Marshal Augereau was recalled from his command in Catalonia, and was replaced by Macdonald, who was ordered to co-operate with Suchet in the approaching siege. Their united force amounted to about thirty-five thousand men, and the only regular army opposed to them was that under O'Donnell, who had no aid to expect, but from the exertions of the guerillas and the miquelets.

Tortosa is situated on the left bank of the Ebro, about four miles distant from the sea. Its extent is considerable, it had formerly been well fortified, and was still capable of making an obstinate defence. Much was also expected from the skill and enterprize of the governor, Don Miguel Lili, Count de Alacha, who had signalized himself by his memorable retreat from the battle of Tudela. From the period of the surrender of Mequinenza, Suchet was actively employed in making preparations for this important siege; and from Mequinenza and Caspe all the way to Tortosa, a road for carriages was cut, waving to the length of thirty leagues, through mountains which were scarcely passable by mules or passengers on foot.

About the beginning of July, Suchet's army encamped before Tortosa on both sides of the Ebro. Macdonald was, at this time, engaged in carrying on an active warfare upon the Llobregat against the armed peasantry, and securing the

entrance of a convoy of provisions into Barcelona. The indefatigable O'Donnell omitted no opportunity of annoying the besiegers, which induced Macdonald, about the end of August, to distract his attention by making a movement towards Tarragona. Here an action took place so near the sea, that the guns of an English frigate took a part in it: the enemy were repulsed, and on their retreat, through the vigour and activity of Sarsfield and Ibarola, they suffered a loss of more than four hundred men. Macdonald now took a central position at Cervera, from whence he could at once cover Suchet's army, and menace the Spanish force on the Llobregat.

O'Donnell, in the mean time, carried on incessant hostilities against the enemy's posts, and his flying detachments frequently brought off prisoners from under the very walls of the fortresses which had fallen into the hands of the French. A project for surprizing the post of General Schwartz, at Bisbal, was crowned with complete success on the 14th of September. At day-break on that morning, O'Donnell left Vidreras at the head of the regiment of Numantia, sixty hussars, and one hundred volunteers; while the remainder of his division were ordered to act as a body of reserve, and cut off the enemy's communications. He reached Bisbal, with his little band of heroes in half the time usually allotted to the journey; and on his approach, the enemy took refuge in the castle.

The peasantry were soon roused to arms, but O'Donnell seeing that musketry was of little avail to expel the enemy from their strong hold, resolved to set fire to the gates. On approaching too near, however, the heroic chief received a musket ball in the leg, and at this moment a reinforcement of one hundred and thirty horse and foot arrived to the succour of the French. They were instantly attacked with such vigour by the Spanish reserve, that the cavalry fled, and all the infantry were taken; and on the arrival of a further reinforcement to the Spaniards, Schwartz and his whole party, amounting to about seven hundred men, thought proper to capitulate. Five hundred prisoners were taken about the same time at St. Felio and Palamos.

The brave O'Donnell being now disabled by his wound, was obliged to retire to Majorca, and these bold enterprizes, however successful, could produce no serious effect as to the final result of the enemy's operations against Tortosa. At the beginning of November General Villa Campa, by whose exertions the French had been greatly harrassed, was defeated in two smart actions; and on the 26th of the same month, a body of Valencians was routed with great loss by General Mositier. The present state of things enabled Suchet to adopt measures for the close investment of Tortosa, which had been delayed for five months by the indefatigable vigilance and activity of the Spanish leaders, and this he was the better enabled to do, as a rein-

forcement of ten thousand French troops entered Catalonia on the 13th of December.\*

On the 15th Suchet marched from Xerta, carried the position of Col d'Alba, and then formed his army on the left bank of the Ebro, in a semicircle; the extremities were supported by the river above and below the town, and into this enclosure the Spaniards were driven. Suchet was now enabled to press the siege without further interruption, the Catalan generals being fully occupied by Macdonald. The operations were carried on with equal skill and celerity, and on the 21st the first parallel was opened between the two bastions of St. Peter and St. John, stretching from the margin of the river to the table ground, called the Plateau d'Orleans, an extent of two thousand five hundred fathoms. A trench was at the same time opened on the right flank at a short distance from the *tete du pont*, and batteries

\* An attack was made about this period, on an enemy's convoy in Palamos Bay, which, though successful, was attended by very unfortunate results. The convoy consisted of eleven vessels laden with provisions for Barcelona, and the boats of the English squadron succeeded in taking or burning the whole, as well as blowing up the magazines and destroying the batteries by which they were protected. The seamen, after they had effected their object, instead of retreating to the beach, thoughtlessly took their way through the town, which the enemy had again occupied, and though the boats advanced immediately to their assistance, the British sustained the heavy loss of thirty-three killed, eighty-nine wounded, and eighty-six taken prisoners.

erected on it for flanking the principal attack. General Frère's division of the Catalonian army joined the besiegers on the 22d, and on the seventh night of the siege, the covert-way was crowned even before the batteries were completed, a circumstance which has been considered rather singular in the history of sieges. The Spaniards having by repeated sallies, endeavoured, in vain, to impede these operations, Suchet succeeded in bringing over his battering cannon to the left bank of the Ebro. On the 29th, the besiegers opened a fire from the batteries, which in two hours silenced all opposition; on the same night they got possession of the *tete du pont*; and on the 31st, the miners began their subterraneous operations.

On the 1st of January 1811, a white flag was hoisted on the castle, and proposals were sent by the governor to General Suchet, offering to evacuate the town, on condition of the garrison being permitted to retire to Taragona, or to surrender on conditions in fifteen days, if the place should not be relieved. These proposals were instantly rejected, and the firing recommenced, by which a considerable breach was effected in the wall on the 2d. The French troops had now established themselves at the foot of the ditch, and every thing was prepared for the assault, when fresh proposals arrived from the governor, offering to surrender at discretion. On the same day, the garrison, amounting to

7,800, marched out as prisoners of war; and the French by this conquest, obtained possession of 177 pieces of ordnance, and a great quantity of ammunition. The behaviour of the governor in his defence of this important place, not equalling the expectations with which his former conduct had inspired the Spaniards, he was sentenced to suffer death by a court-martial; and beheaded in effigy in the market-place of Tarragona. Col de Balaguer was lost a few days after this by treachery or cowardice;—and at the commencement of 1811, of all their fortresses, Tarragona alone remained in the hands of the Spaniards.

Notwithstanding these disasters, the spirit of the nation remained unbroken, and a new impulse was communicated to the exertions of the people by the meeting of the Cortes. This august assembly, which had formerly been the bulwark of the liberties of Spain, had nearly fallen into disuse since the time of Philip II., having only been called together as a matter of form on the accession of a new monarch. Every eye was fixed with eager expectation on the approaching important event; and as it was now fully manifest that Spain contained the elements of an irresistible military force, it was hoped that the Cortes would prove that spirit which should reduce the chaotic mass to form, and serve as a focus to collect, retain, and send forth in every direction the scattered rays of patriotism. The peculiar circumstances of the

nation at this moment, and the appointed place of meeting added still greater interest to the approaching scene. While their country was over-run by myriads of their cruel invaders, the only place in which the Cortes could assemble with any degree of security was a peninsula in the southern extremity of the kingdom, and even there they were within hearing of the guns of the enemy.

The plan for electing the deputies embraced at once established forms, the present circumstances of the country, and the future convenience of election. Every city that had sent a deputy to the last Cortes was also to send one to this; the provinces were to send one for every fifty thousand persons, according to the census of 1797; and where the excess above this number amounted to more than twenty-five thousand another deputy was chosen. The mode of election seems to have been complicated, but extremely impartial; as the most likely measures were adopted to prevent undue influence, parochial assemblies were convened, composed of all the housekeepers in the parish above the age of twenty-five, not suffering under any legal disability, by whom one elector was chosen. These parochial electors assembled within eight days in the chief town of the district, and formed a Junta, over which the Corregidor and Bishop, or some other high ecclesiastic presided. From this Junta was chosen one or more electors for the district, according to its extent

and population. The electors thus chosen by the respective districts repaired to the capital of the kingdom or province, where the final election took place, in the presence of the President of the Superior Junta, the Archbishop or Bishop, Regent, Intendant, and Corregidor of the city, and a secretary. The deputy proposed should be a native of the province: nobles, plebeians, and secular priests were equally eligible, and no other qualification was required, than that he should be above twenty-five, of good repute, and not actually the salaried servant of any individual or body. The first step was to elect three persons successively, and it was required that half the electors should vote for the same person—the three names were then placed in an urn, and he whose lot was drawn became the deputy to the Cortes. A fourth was then to be elected, whose name was submitted to the lot with the two that remained undrawn, and this was repeated till the whole number of deputies for the province was chosen. Supplementary deputies, to fill any vacancies which might be occasioned by death, were then chosen, in the proportion of one to three. The whole number of provincial deputies amounted to two hundred and eight, and that of supplementaries to sixty-eight. The city elections were conducted in nearly a similar manner, and twenty-six deputies were added to represent the Spanish colonies *pro tempore*, who were to be chosen from amongst the natives of the colonies

resident in Spain. All these proceedings were accompanied by religious ceremonies. It was intended that the bishops and grandees should assemble in an upper house, but this was not afterwards carried into effect. The elections took place even in those provinces occupied by the French; and in some instances they were carried on at the point of the bayonet.

The critical state of Cadiz had delayed the convocation of the Cortes for a considerable time after the period which had been originally appointed; but on the 24th of September its Session was opened with great ceremony, in the Isle of Leon, a hall in the Palace of the Regency being appointed for that purpose. The military were under arms, and the whole Assembly, preceded by the Regents, went in grand procession to the parochial church, where mass was performed by Cardinal Bourbon, Archbishop of Toledo. The Bishop of Orense then addressed the deputies, in a solemn discourse, on the important functions which they were about to undertake. After this an oath was administered to the deputies, by which they engaged to preserve the Roman Catholic religion in the Spanish dominions, to the exclusion of every other—to preserve the Spanish nation in its integrity, and to omit no means of delivering it from its unjust oppressors—to preserve to Ferdinand VII. and his legitimate successors all his dominions, and to make every exertion

to release him from his captivity—and, finally, to discharge faithfully and lawfully the trust reposed in them by the nation, observing the laws of Spain, but changing, varying, and modifying such as required to be altered for the general good.

The Regents and Deputies now returned to the Hall of the Cortes, where the former seated themselves on a throne, under which was placed a portrait of Ferdinand VII. The Bishop of Orense again addressed the Assembly, on the perilous state of the country, and the arduous duties which they were called upon to discharge. The Regents then quitted the Hall, leaving a written paper upon the table.

After choosing a President and Secretary, the Cortes heard the paper read which the Regents had left. It stated that they had accepted the executive power only till the assembling of the Cortes; and they now called upon that body to appoint such a government, as they deemed best adapted to the critical circumstances of the Monarchy. A declaration was then adopted by the Assembly to the following purport—That the General and Extraordinary Cortes of the Spanish nation were now legally assembled, and that the national sovereignty resided in them—that they proclaimed and swore anew, that Ferdinand VII. was their only lawful King, and they declared null and void the cession of the crown which he was said to have made in favour of Napoleon Bonaparte, as being extorted by injustice and violence, but

chiefly because it had been made without the consent of the nation. They declared themselves to be the Legislative power of the nation, and they continued the authority of the Regency as the Executive, until the establishment of a permanent government, on condition that they should come into the Hall, and swear to obey the decrees of the Cortes, and the Constitution which it might hereafter establish. The persons of the Deputies were declared inviolable, and all the established authorities, civil, military, and judicial, were for the present confirmed; on their taking the oath of obedience to the Cortes.

The Bishop of Orense refused to take the oath proposed by the Assembly, as he was unwilling to acknowledge the sovereignty of the nation. The other four Regents, however, entered the Hall about midnight, and swore allegiance to the Cortes; but they only retained their power a few weeks, their own desire to resign the cares of government being assigned as the reason of this change. The new Regency consisted of only three members, viz. General Blake, Don Pedro Agar, a naval officer and Director-General of the Academies of the Royal Marine Guards, and Don Gabriel Ciscar, Governor of Carthagena. Blake and Ciscar being absent, their places were supplied *ad interim* by the Marquis del Castelar, and Don Jose Maria Puiz. It was now resolved that the Cortes should have the title of Majesty, and

the Regency that of Highness, till the arrival of Ferdinand VII.

One of the first legislative acts of this assembly was to raise a new levy of one hundred and fifty thousand men, and to provide means for the equipment and subsistence of all the patriotic armies.—Another decree declared the marriage of a King of Spain, his abdication, or alienation of property to be unlawful, without the consent of the nation. Nor were the Cortes negligent in their exertions to ameliorate the condition of the people, by securing their civil and judicial liberties. On the 15th of October, Arguelles, the Deputy for Asturias, moved that a committee should be appointed to take into consideration the momentous subject of the liberty of the press. The motion was discussed with much animation and good sense, and the arguments of the friends of rational liberty in the Cortes may be deduced from the following extract from the speech of the mover:—"Whatever light," said he, "has spread itself over Europe, has sprung from the liberty of the press, and nations have risen in proportion as that liberty has been more or less complete amongst them; while others, bedarkened by ignorance, and fettered by despotism and superstition, have sunk in the same proportion. Spain, I grieve to say, is one of these. Let us look at the events of the last twenty years, and we shall see the portentous effects of this arm, to whose power that of the sword has always yielded. By its influence we

saw the chains fall from the hands of the French nation; a sanguinary faction obtained the ascendancy, and the French government began to act in direct opposition to the principles which it had proclaimed. After having solemnly and by acclamation declared, that the French Republic renounced all conquests, they gave orders for the incorporation of Savoy; the conduct of the Republic uniformly contradicted the principles of the National Assembly, both in respect to the states which they occupied and their allies. If, at that time, we had enjoyed a well regulated liberty of the press, Spain would not have been ignorant of what was the political situation of France, when she celebrated the infamous peace of Basle. Our government, directed by a favourite, as stupid as he was corrupt, was incapable of understanding the interests of Spain; it abandoned itself with blind subserviency to all the successive governments of France; and from the Convention to the Empire, we followed the vicissitudes of their revolution, always in the closest alliance, till the unhappy moment in which we saw our strong places taken, and the armies of the perfidious invaders in the heart of Spain. Till that moment it was not lawful for any one to speak of the French government with less submission than of our own, and not to admire Bonaparte was one of the greatest crimes. In those miserable days the seeds were sown, and we are now reaping the bitter fruits. Look round the world! England is

the only nation we shall find free from these horrors; the energy of her government has done much, but the liberty of the press has done more. By that means wise and virtuous men were able to diffuse the antidote faster than the French could administer the poison; and the information which the people enjoyed by means of the press, made them see the dangers, and taught them how to avoid them." The discussion terminated by a decree empowering all individuals and public bodies to publish their political (not religious) sentiments, with the exception of defamatory libels, works subversive of the fundamental laws of the monarchy, and those that were contrary to public decorum and good morals. For religious works a Supreme Junta of Censorship was established. It was also ordered that the proceedings of the Cortes should be published in the public journals.

Another popular measure of the Cortes was the appointment of a Committee, for framing a law similar to the English Act of Habeas Corpus. Much of their attention was occupied by the state of the colonies in South America, where a civil war had already broken out. On the 29th of September a self-denying ordinance was carried by acclamation, which enacted, That no member of the Cortes should, during the exercise of his functions, or for a year afterwards, accept for himself, or solicit for any person, any pension, or place of honor or emolument, except such persons

as by age or rank were accustomed to succeed in military, ecclesiastical, and civil bodies, according to the rules or statutes. Towards the close of the year, the Cortes displayed their grateful sense of the assistance which had been afforded to their country by Great Britain, by decreeing that Spain should erect a monument to George III. and the British nation.

The prospect of the establishment of a free Constitution, which these first acts of the Cortes intimated, filled the minds of the Spaniards with the most joyful anticipations. The galleries being open to the public, it became the chief amusement of Cadiz to listen to the debates; while the journals that reported them were perused with avidity by all classes, and in all the public places and squares persons were to be seen reading them aloud to groups of bye-standers. King Joseph endeavoured to counteract the effects which he had reason to dread from these patriotic proceedings. He promised also to convoke the Cortes, organized volunteer companies, and formed some regular regiments of Spaniards, from amongst those who had taken the oath of allegiance to him. They were distinguished by the appellation of *Juramentados*, but he soon found that he could place so little dependence on them, that he ordered them to be marched into France.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

Preparations of Lord Wellington for the Defence of Portugal.—Grant of the British Parliament in aid of the Portuguese.—Able Speech of the Marquis Wellesley upon this occasion.—The French make great Preparations for the Conquest of Portugal.—The Command of the Army is conferred upon Marshal Massena.—Astorga surrenders to General Junot.—Siege of Ciudad Rodrigo.—Position of Lord Wellington's Army.—Ciudad Rodrigo is forced to capitulate, after an heroic Defence.—The French lay Siege to Almeida.—Massena addresses a Proclamation to the Portuguese, filled with reproaches of the English.—Positions of the Allied Army.—Action on the Coa between a French Corps and the Division of General Crawford.—A dreadful Accident occasions the speedy Surrender of Almeida to the Enemy.—Lord Wellington encourages the Portuguese to a vigorous Defence.—Firm and judicious Conduct of the Portuguese Regency.—Massena enters Portugal, and Lord Wellington retreats through the Valley of the Mondego.—Brilliant Manœuvres of the British General, who takes post on the Sierra de Busaco.—Gallant Conduct of the Portuguese Militia, and Patriotism of the Peasantry.—Battle of Busaco, and Defeat of the French.—Massena enters Coimbra, and Lord Wellington retires to the Lines of Torres Vedras.—While Massena continues the Pursuit of the Allies, Col. Trant re-captures Coimbra, and takes Five Thousand Prisoners.—The further Progress of the French is completely checked at Torres Vedras.—Description of those celebrated Lines.—Sufferings of Massena's Army from want of Provisions.—The French fall back to Santarem.—Vigour and Activity of Lord Wellington.—Relative situation of the Hostile Armies at the Close of the Year.

**D**URING the progress of those events in Spain, which have been narrated in the preceding chapter, occurrences of an equally important character took place in the other kingdom of the Peninsula. Lord Wellington was convinced by the result of the last campaign, that he could, under present circumstances, render no effectual assistance to the Spanish cause. He was also aware that Napoleon, freed by the peace with Austria from those additional cares which had for a short time distracted his attention, would now bend all his force to the complete subjugation of the Peninsula, and that his utmost efforts would be exerted to destroy the English army, which was the chief obstacle to the conquest of Portugal. To render these vaunted projects abortive, and to defend a country (from whence he had already twice driven the invaders) with all the ability which skill and valour could supply, occupied the attention of this illustrious commander during a long period of apparent inactivity.

Through the indefatigable exertions of Marshal Beresford, the Portuguese army had been raised from the lowest condition of military degradation to a state of discipline which enabled them to fight in the same ranks with British troops; while no means were neglected which were necessary to the protection of every defensible post. Nor was the British nation slow in administering pecuniary

assistance, the Parliament of 1810 having voted 890,000*l.* towards the maintenance of the Portuguese army, though many in both Houses considered the cause of the Peninsula, at this time, utterly hopeless; and it was even recommended by some that the British troops should be withdrawn from Portugal altogether. The arguments of these desponding characters were ably combatted in the House of Lords by Marquis Wellesley, who affirmed, that Portugal was the most material military position that could be occupied for the purpose of assisting Spain; and though he was free to admit that great disasters had lately befallen the Spanish cause, yet they were far from sinking his mind into despair. What advantage, he asked, could be derived from casting over our own counsels and the hopes of Portugal and Spain, the hue and complexion of despondency? To tell that the hour of their fate was arrived; that all attempts to assist them or inspirit their exertions were now of no avail; and that they must bow the neck and submit to the yoke of a merciless invader? This indeed, would be to strew the conqueror's path with flowers, to prepare the way for his triumphal march to the throne of the two kingdoms. He declared that whatever disasters had befallen the Spaniards they were not imputable to the people; that their spirit was excellent, and he still ventured to hope that it would prove unconquerable. He ascribed all their defeats and disasters to the imbecillity or

treachery of that vile and wretched government, which first opened the breach through which the enemy entered into the heart of Spain; that delivered into hostile hands all the fortresses of that country; and betrayed her people defenceless and unarmed into the power of a perfidious foe. His Lordship exhorted the House not to contribute to the accomplishment of what that government had so inauspiciously begun, by adopting any resolution that could justify Portugal in relaxing her exertions, or Spain in considering her cause hopeless. Happily for the Peninsula and for Europe, the wise and manly admonitions of the Noble Marquis had their due effect; and throughout the whole of the long-protracted contest which ensued, the British Government may be said to have acted in full accordance with the opinion of the great body of the nation.

After his retreat from Talavera, Lord Wellington stationed his army for near three months on the frontiers of Spain between Madrid and Badajoz. The disasters which occurred in Old Castile at the close of the campaign, and the unhealthy state of the army, (near nine thousand being on the sick-list) rendered a retreat to the north of the Tagus necessary, and they took up a favourable position on the frontiers of Beira, where the sick rapidly recovered, and the allied forces received a considerable accession of strength by the junction of several well-disciplined regiments of Portuguese. In the month of February, the

combined army occupied an extended line from Oporto to Santarem, including Lamego, Coimbra, Vizeu, and Abrantes; while General Hill descended the Guadiana to keep in check a body of the enemy who had appeared before Badajoz.

The French commenced their preparations for the invasion of Portugal early in the year, and the expedition was planned on a scale of much greater magnitude than any of the former attempts for the conquest of that country. Their army consisting of three corps under Ney, Junot, and Regnier, amounted to eighty thousand men, and the supreme command was conferred on Marshal Massena, (the Prince of Essling,) whom his master had distinguished by the flattering title of *the favourite Child of Victory*. He was appointed Commander-in-Chief of all the provinces in the north of Spain, his army was denominated *the Army of Portugal*, and it has been insinuated that his success was to be rewarded by the crown of that country.

At a Council of War, held in Salamanca during the preceding year, the French had determined to commence their operations by laying siege to Ciudad Rodrigo, the reduction of which would cut off the only communication that remained in the hands of the Patriots, between the Spanish government and the northern provinces. This was to be followed by the siege of the strong fortress of Almeida, the capture of which would open an entrance into Portugal. Former experi-

ence had, however, taught them the necessity of keeping open the communications in their rear; and while General Bonnet took possession of Oviedo, the capital of Asturias, Junot, on the 21st of March, invested Astorga, with a division of twelve thousand men: but, notwithstanding the garrison did not amount to a fourth of that number, and the fortifications were not calculated for resisting a regular force, the town was bravely defended. The vigorous exertions of Santocildes, the governor, so retarded the enemy's batteries, that a month elapsed before the bombardment commenced. On the 20th of April a fire was opened on the place from three batteries, and a breach was speedily effected by the Puerto de Hierro; but the Spaniards pulled down a house, which served as a formidable trench, and every menacing summons of the enemy was rejected. The bombardment was continued till the cathedral and a whole street in the suburbs were set on fire, when Junot, hoping to profit by the confusion thus created, assaulted the breach with two thousand men; but he was driven back with the loss of three-fourths of his storming party. The brave governor, however, could profit little by this success, as he had only thirty rounds of cartridges left for his men, and eight for the artillery. During the night the French made a lodgment at the foot of the breach. Want of ammunition rendering all further resistance impracticable, and the strength of the enemy's cavalry precluding

every possibility of escape, a Council of War determined on capitulating, and the garrison were permitted to march out with the honours of war.

Ney, at this period, had his head-quarters at Salamanca, and Regnier at Merida. Before the end of April several French divisions were encamped in the neighbourhood of Ciudad-Rodrigo, and on the 4th of June the place was completely invested. Several smart skirmishes preceded this event, in one of which the British came in contact with the enemy for the first time since the battle of Talavera; four companies of the 95th repulsing an attack of six hundred French on their post at Barba del Puerco. Lord Wellington's force did not at this time exceed fifty thousand men, one half of whom were Portuguese, and he knew he could not act against an enemy so greatly superior, without incurring the most imminent danger. He had laid down a plan for the preservation of Portugal; and from this plan he was resolved that no circumstances, however painful to his feelings, or apparently derogatory to his military reputation, should cause him to deviate. His army was formed into five divisions. The first of these, under General Spencer, lay at Celorico, about twenty miles distant from the grand French army. General Hill's division, posted in the mountains at Portalegre, between the Tagus and the Guadiana, looked down on the frontiers of Spain: the third division, commanded by General Cole, was stationed at Guarda. Picton's corps was at Pinhell;

and the light division, under General Crawford, was continually shifting its position, mid-way between the principal corps of the British army at Guarda, and the French lines at Ciudad Rodrigo. The Portuguese army, under General Beresford, did not join Lord Wellington till the end of July.

Guarda is accounted the strongest position in Portugal, being situated among the mountains of the Sierra d'Estrellas, which rise in some places to the height of six thousand feet above the level of the sea. The roads leading to it are over clefts of rocks, and while an army could be fed there, it might set the whole power of France at defiance. On the line of retreat to Lisbon were the strong positions of Covilha, Castello Branco, Villa Velha, Santarem, and Abrantes. The greater part of the French army lay in the great plain under the mountains where the British and Portuguese were encamped. In this plain the cities of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz were situated.

Ciudad Rodrigo was considered a fortress only of the third order; it possessed no bomb-proofs, and was commanded from many points. The population was estimated at ten thousand, and the garrison amounted to five thousand, commanded by Don Andres Perez de Herrasti, a veteran of distinguished bravery and patriotism. Ney opened the trenches before the place on the fifteenth of June; but his army had previously suffered considerably from the artillery of the

town, as well as from the repeated attacks of Don Julian Sanchez and other Guerilla leaders. On the 24th Massena took the command, and from that period till the 28th a constant fire was kept up by the besiegers, from forty-six pieces of heavy artillery. A very extensive breach being made in the walls, the garrison was summoned to surrender; but the governor replied, that after forty-nine years service he knew his military duties, and whenever circumstances rendered it necessary, he would then apply for terms. The inhabitants seemed anxious to emulate the example of Saragossa and Gerona, and while their houses were in flames, even the women and children were to be seen carrying ammunition and refreshments to the troops amidst the hottest fire. The enemy were driven with considerable loss from several of their posts in the suburbs; but when all hope of holding out much longer had failed, Don Julian Sanchez, with his band of heroes, broke through the French lines, and effected his escape, carrying off with him some prisoners.

The strength of the enemy, however, at length overcame all opposition, and on the 2d of July a practicable breach was made in the Baluarte del Rey. The Spaniards determined to defend the breach to the last extremity; but the besiegers were unwilling to commence the assault, till the works were reduced to such a state as would enable them to bring forward an overwhelming force. This was at length accomplished by

mining. The enemy having made two mines under the curtain of the wall, and one under the counterscarp, at three o'clock on the morning of the 10th the counterscarp blew up, and a breach was made of sufficient magnitude to permit carts to ascend from the glacis. From this moment an incessant fire was maintained by the besiegers for twelve hours, and thirty thousand men marched to the foot of the breach to commence the assault. During these dreadful preparations, the universal cry in Ciudad Rodrigo was to beat back the assailants or perish in the attempt; but the brave Governor and Junta of Castile, who resided in the town, perceiving now that further resistance could only be followed by the destruction of the remaining inhabitants, a white flag was held out at the moment the enemy were about to ascend the breach. The Spanish officer who planted it immediately repaired to Massena, and presented to him the articles of capitulation. Massena told him that there was not time to ratify the articles, the first of which demanded that the garrison should be allowed to march out with the honours of war; he, however, stated verbally that he granted all the governor required. The French troops who entered the town, notwithstanding this promise of their commander, obliged the garrison to deposit their arms in the arsenal, and as little respect was paid to the other stipulations. The civil officers of the government were made prisoners of war, and the Junta and clergy experienced

the most rigorous treatment. A contribution of 1,800,000 reals was levied on the unfortunate inhabitants, who were also obliged to work at the demolished fortifications. The French are stated to have lost six thousand men during the siege, and of the garrison and inhabitants about two thousand fell. Forty-two thousand shells having been thrown into the place, not a house escaped injury. During the last sixteen days the garrison expended eight hundred and ninety-three quintals of powder, each quintal weighing one hundred and thirty-two pounds, and during the siege twenty-five thousand shells were thrown from the city.

Massena boasted much of this conquest, and endeavoured to make use of the circumstances attending the siege, to sow the seeds of dissention between the Spaniards and their allies, the English, who, he said, had suffered the fortress to fall in their presence, without making any effort for its relief. The French journals were, at the same time, filled with reproaches of Lord Wellington. They represented him as being ever ready to desert his allies in times of the greatest danger. The cries of the inhabitants of Ciudad Rodrigo were heard in his camp, but his ears were shut against them, and he made no attempt to succour that city, which was one of the last bulwarks of the insurrection. Some English journalists were also loud in condemning the plans of the British general, and in presaging the most fearful disasters as the inevitable result; but Lord

Wellington, despising alike the bitter taunts of the enemy, and the prognostications or sarcasms of those empirics at home, who had ventured to criticise his military proceedings, resolved, with a magnanimity that has never been surpassed, to persevere in that well-digested system of defence, which he had laid down for the preservation of the country entrusted to his charge.

The reduction of Ciudad Rodrigo enabled Massena to send a force to the relief of Astorga, which had been for some time blockaded by General Mahy. The fort of Puebla de Sanabria was, about the same period, captured by the French General Serras; but it was surprized in four days after by Silveira, who found in it a French eagle, which was deposited with much solemnity in the cathedral of Lisbon, as the first trophy of the regenerated Portuguese.

The French Commander-in-Chief now prepared to lay siege to Almeida, previous to which he addressed a proclamation to the Portuguese, filled with vauntings of his own strength, and contempt for that of his opponents. The Emperor of the French, he said, had placed under his orders an army of one hundred and ten thousand men to take possession of the kingdom, and expel the English, their pretended friends, whom he dignified by the name of locusts, that consumed their property, blasted their harvests, and palsied their efforts. His master had it in his power to make them the happiest people in the world. To the insidious counsels of England he attributed all

their sufferings. The King of England, he said, was actuated by narrow and selfish purposes, while the Emperor of the French was governed by principles of universal philanthropy. The English put arms into their hands which they did not know how to use. If they accepted his offers, he would instruct them to turn those arms to the annihilation of their real foes. He told them that resistance was vain, and asked contemptuously if the feeble army of the British General could expect to oppose any barrier to the victorious legions of the Emperor? Finally, he gave them the choice of meeting the horrors of a bloody war, seeing their country desolated, their villages in flames, and their cities plundered, or to accept an honourable and happy peace, which would obtain for them every blessing.

The Portuguese, however, manifesting equal disregard of the promises or threats of their powerful enemy, Massena prepared to pursue his ulterior operations. Strong bodies of French troops were sent out about the middle of July to reconnoitre Lord Wellington's army, whose headquarters were, at this time, at Alverca. The position of the allies embraced a defensive line of thirty miles along the frontier mountains of Beira; but as the line formed the segment of a circle, the points were not distant from each other in proportion to its length. The infantry extended from Celorico to Guarda on one side, and on the other to Fort Conception, one of the outworks of Almeida. The cavalry were posted on the Coa,

at Sabugal, and in the vicinity of Fort Conception.

While Regnier was detached to take possession of Penamacor and Monsanto, Massena proceeded to invest Almeida, a place of great importance both from its strength and situation. It is one hundred and thirteen miles north-east of Lisbon, and stands on the top of a lofty mountainous plain, which is divided by an immense glen, containing in its sinuosities the rapid river Coa, at the distance of a mile from the town. The castle and magazines were bomb-proof, and the garrison consisted of five thousand men, chiefly Portuguese, under Brigadier-General Cox. Fort Conception was abandoned and blown up on the approach of the enemy; but General Crawford, with three thousand two hundred British and eleven hundred Portuguese, continued to occupy a position near Almeida, his cavalry out-posts forming a semi-circle in front of the town. On the morning of the 24th of July General Crawford was attacked by a strong body of the enemy, consisting of seven thousand infantry and three thousand cavalry, with the view of cutting off his division from the main army. The centre of the picquets, supported by the 14th light dragoons and two guns, were compelled to retire very early, and fifteen squadrons of the enemy's horse, with seven thousand infantry, crossed a rivulet and formed, with artillery in their front, while other troops were advancing on the right flank of the British,

in order to cut off their retreat from a bridge, which was the only practicable road for artillery and cavalry. General Crawford perceiving that it was impossible to prevent the investment of Almeida, ordered all his troops to retire across the bridge, except those on the right, who were directed to protect this movement by opposing the enemy coming from Junca as long as possible. These orders were literally obeyed by the 43d and 95th regiments, who were stationed in front of the bridge, and repulsed several attacks of a vastly superior foe at the point of the bayonet, with great slaughter. They gallantly maintained the post until the close of the day, when the remainder of the division having passed the Coa, these brave regiments also retired, without the loss of a single gun, or a trophy of any description. In this action the casualties in General Crawford's division amounted to about three hundred, while that of the enemy was considered to have been much more numerous.

There was now no farther obstruction to the complete investment of Almeida. A summons to surrender having been rejected by the governor, the besiegers proceeded in their operations; and on the 15th of August the trenches were opened. In the night between the 24th and 25th the second parallel was opened in the rock, within less than one hundred and fifty fathoms of the place, and on the 26th a tremendous fire commenced on the town from sixty-five pieces of artillery, which

was returned with great spirit and effect by the guns of the fortress. But a melancholy accident occurred on the first day of the bombardment, and frustrated the hopes which the character of the governor and the strength of the garrison had inspired, that Almeida would have long delayed the further progress of the enemy. A bomb fell on an ammunition waggon, which they were loading at the door of the principal magazine. The flames instantly communicated to one hundred and fifty thousand pounds of gunpowder, and an explosion took place which resembled the eruption of a volcano. The besiegers supposed the whole town was blown up; the castle, cathedral, and neighbouring houses had disappeared; nine hundred persons were killed, (including all the artillery,) four hundred were wounded, and the whole of the ammunition was destroyed, except thirty barrels of gunpowder which were in the laboratory. Notwithstanding this horrible disaster, Brigadier-General Cox appeared disposed to defend the fortress to the last extremity; but finding that the garrison, under existing circumstances, were not likely to second his views, he was compelled to submit to such terms as accident had enabled the French general to dictate. The garrison accordingly became prisoners of war, and some of the native officers with a few of the men were seduced from their allegiance, by the Marquis d'Alorna and other traitorous Portuguese. The remainder of the regulars were sent to

France, and twelve hundred of the militia were compelled to serve as pioneers to the French army.

During the siege of Almeida, the few traitors who had joined the invaders of Portugal, were actively engaged in seconding the proclamation of Massena, by using all their influence to persuade their countrymen to submission. The inhabitants of a few villages on the frontiers of Beira were deceived by these insidious arts; but they quickly suffered all the insults and evils which an arrogant and cruel enemy could inflict, and in a proclamation which Lord Wellington published on the 4th of August, he exhibited their sufferings as an example to the rest of the nation. He declared that no means were now left to escape the evils which threatened them, but a determined and vigorous resistance. He exhorted them to obstruct as much as possible the progress of the enemy, by removing out of his reach all means of subsistence. He declared himself authorized by the Prince Regent of Portugal, to compel the careless and indolent to preserve their property, and save their country; and he gave notice that all magistrates who should remain in the towns or villages after having received orders to remove from them, and all persons who should hold any communication with the enemy, or in any way aid or assist them, should be considered as traitors to the state, and punished accordingly. The Portuguese Regency, about the same period, declared the

Marquis de Alorna and five other Nobles, traitors to the State and their property confiscated.

The Portuguese Regency consisted of six Members, namely the Bishop of Oporto, the Marquis Monteiro Mor, the principal Souza, the Conde de Redondo, S. Ricardo Raymundo Nogueira, and Mr. Stewart, the English Ambassador. Admiral Berkeley was appointed to the chief command of the Portuguese naval force, as Lord Wellington had been to that of the military. Such was the confidence reposed in British honour by the Portuguese government: and though the common enemy sought by every art to sow the seeds of distrust between the two nations, yet they continued to act together with the most perfect unanimity, which gave the surest pledge of ultimate success. While British counsels guided that admirable spirit which animated the Portuguese nation, and called into action military and financial resources of which it had been hitherto considered destitute, the Regency encouraged the people with the language of hope and confidence, reminded them of the heroic deeds of their ancestors, and predicted the horrible miseries by which submission to the yoke of the enemy would inevitably be attended. Honours and rewards were promised to the meritorious defenders of their country; and a competent provision was assigned for the widows and orphans of such as had fallen in battle. They at the same time informed the people of the injury which the

country had sustained by the loss of Almeida; but still they exhorted them never to fear an army of slaves who were wasting away by want and desertion, while Wellington headed the allied armies, and Beresford directed the native troops, whom his zeal and abilities had brought to such a complete state of organization and discipline.

After the fall of Almeida, Masseua began to concentrate his army, hoping that he could bring against Lord Wellington a force so superior as to insure the defeat of the British General, if he should accept of battle, or otherwise compel him to fly to his ships. Regnier's division, which had been stationed on the frontiers of Spanish Estramadura, crossed the Tagus at Alcantara with the view of turning the right flank of the allies, and occupying the road to Lisbon by Castello Branco; but this movement was ably anticipated by General Hill, who crossed the same river at Villa Vellha, and possessed himself of that important road. Aware of the enemy's object, and wisely resolved to persevere in his defensive plan, Lord Wellington began to retreat deliberately towards Coimbra through the valley of the Mondego. This movement was executed with such order, that it was attended with no sacrifices of provisions or stores, and the men suffered no more than from the ordinary course of duty. The inhabitants retired under the protection of the allied army, and assisted them in breaking down the bridges, destroying mills, and laying waste the surrounding country, in

order to place every possible obstacle in the way of the enemy's advance. Being joined by the divisions of Generals Hill and Leith, Lord Wellington took up a position at the Sierra de Murcella, an almost inexpugnable post behind the Alva, where he determined to make a stand, and oppose the further progress of the enemy.

Two roads lead from Almeida to Coimbra, one north of the river Mondego by Pinhel, Trancoso, and Vizeu; and the other on the left or south side by Celorico, Penalva, and Ponte de Murcella. To obtain possession of Coimbra, and the fertile resources of the surrounding country, being a primary object with Massena, he commenced his march for that city, by the first of those routes, on the 16th of September, and reached Vizeu on the 19th, passing, according to the description given by the French Marshal himself, "through ways bristling with rocks—the whole country was a desert, not a soul to be seen, and every thing was removed, destroyed, or abandoned." He complained that even the old men, women, and children fled before him, and that not a guide was to be found. Massena was obliged to remain at Vizeu for three days, to bring up his artillery and baggage; and this halt afforded Lord Wellington time to execute the brilliant and judicious manœuvre of passing from the left to the right bank of the Mondego. Massena's design being now completely developed, Lord Wellington determined to take up a position which would cover

Coimbra, in order, at least, to give the inhabitants an opportunity of removing their effects. The division of General Hill was left at the Ponte de Murcella, while the centre and left of the allies were posted on the Sierra de Busaco, which extends from the Mondego in a northerly direction, and is connected by a mountainous tract of country with the Sierra de Caramula, and the Sierra de Murcella, on which Colonel Le Cor's Portuguese brigade was stationed, to cover the right flank of the army. The Portuguese cavalry and 13th light dragoons, under Major-General Fane, remained on the left of the Mondego, in front of the Alva, to keep the enemy's cavalry in check. All the roads to Coimbra lead over one or other of the Sierras above mentioned.

Massena followed the movements of the allied army, crossing and recrossing the Mondego; but still Lord Wellington interposed between him and Coimbra. The Portuguese militia, under Colonel Trant, greatly harrassed the flank and rear of the enemy, and after attacking a military escort near Tojal, from which they took one hundred prisoners, they completely cut off his communication with Almeida. The advanced divisions retired as the enemy advanced, and on the 26th the whole of the British and Portuguese troops, (with the exception already mentioned,) were posted along the ridge of Busaco,\* extending near eight miles,

\* Busaco had long been venerated by the Portuguese as the only place in the kingdom where the barefooted Carmelites

and forming the segment of a circle. This movement was as rapidly performed as it had been ably planned ; it was begun at two o'clock in the morning, and at noon the whole allied army was in battle array.

The allies had scarcely taken up their position, when Massena appeared with his whole army at the foot of the Sierra ; the light troops were immediately engaged on both sides throughout the line, and the French general passed the remainder of the day in reconnoitering the position of his antagonists. He resolved on an attack, probably supposing that the appearance of his immense force would have the effect of intimidating Lord Wellington and cause him to evacuate Busaco without coming to a general engagement. At six o'clock on the morning of the 27th, the 2d and 6th French corps under Ney and Regnier began to ascend the mountain ; the former being directed against the left of the allies, and the latter against their right : the 8th, with all the cavalry, remained in reserve. A column of Regnier's corps advanced with great intrepidity, notwithstanding the destructive fire of the

possessed a convent and garden. These are situated at the highest point of the ridge, about two miles from its termination. This spot is said to command one of the most extensive views in Portugal ; and on the very summit stands a cross planted upon a basis of masonry of such magnitude, that it is said that three thousand carts of stone were used in the work.

British artillery, and succeeded in gaining the top of the ridge, where it began to form with the greatest regularity ; but the 45th and 88th regiments, with the 8th Portuguese, advancing against them with the bayonet, under the direction of Major-General Picton, quickly dispossessed them of the advantages they had gained. The other division of Regnier's corps, which attacked further on the right by the road of Santo Antonio de Cantaro, met a similar repulse, before they reached the top of the ridge, from the 74th regiment; and the arrival of Major-General Leith with the 3d battalion of the Royals, the 9th, and two battalions of the 38th, completed the defeat of the enemy in this quarter.

Ney's corps was not more successful against the left of the allied army, where General Crawford's corps, and a body of Portuguese under Brigadier-General Pack were stationed. One division only made any progress towards the top of the hill ; but they were charged with such vigour by the 48th, 52d, and 95th regiments, supported by Brigadier-General Coleman's brigade of Portuguese, while the 19th Portuguese regiment attacked another body of the enemy which had endeavoured to penetrate in that quarter, that they were compelled to retire, leaving in the hands of the victors General Simon and near three hundred prisoners. The French, according to the British official account, left two thousand dead on the field of battle, and the wounded, amongst whom

were Generals Merle and Maucune, amounted to three thousand.\* The loss of the allies included twelve hundred and fifty-three killed and wounded, which was nearly equally divided between the troops of the two nations; the casualties of the British being six hundred and thirty-one, whilst those of the Portuguese amounted to six hundred and twenty-two. Majors Smith of the 45th, and Silver of the 88th were the only field-officers killed: amongst the wounded were the Marquis of Tweedale, Lord Fitzroy Somerset, Lieutenant-Colonel C. Campbell, Assistant Adjutant-General, Lieutenants-Colonel Barclay of the 52d, and Williams of the 60th; Majors Gwyn of the 45th, M'Gregor of the 88th, and Wurmb of the King's German Legion.

The result of the battle of Busaco was highly important to the safety of Portugal, as the plan of Massena, had he succeeded in driving the allies from the heights, appears to have been this. Having possession of the high road, he could march round by Coimbra, cut off Lord Wellington's communication with that city, and thus place the allied forces in a state of considerable peril between his own army and the divisions of Ney and Regnier, from which nothing could have extricated them but a decisive victory, or the hazardous attempt of passing the Mondego in the

\* Some accounts have stated the loss of the enemy at double his number.

presence of a superior enemy. The gallant conduct of the Portuguese troops in the action, confounded the gloomy anticipations in which too many had indulged, that they would be found a feeble support in the day of trial. They proved themselves on this occasion worthy to fight in the same ranks with British troops; and the enemy paid a high compliment to their valour, by declaring, in his public statements, that Lord Wellington had practised a *ruse-de-guerre*, by dressing English soldiers in Portuguese uniforms. Of the hostile armies not more than twenty-five thousand men were engaged on each side. During the engagement, Marshal Massena was seen from the British ranks, directing the operations of his army in person, and it is universally confessed, that he displayed such a degree of ability in all his movements as must have proved successful, had he been opposed by a general of less ability than Lord Wellington,

No attempt was made by the French to renew the attack on the following day; but, abandoning all hope of being able to force the position of the allies, they made an attempt to turn it. A smart skirmishing took place between the light troops, while Massena moved with a large body of cavalry and infantry to reach the road from Oporto to Coimbra by Sardao. Lord Wellington, anticipating that he would make this movement, had ordered Colonel Trant to march on this latter post, and occupy the mountains; which, if effected,

would have placed the enemy in a most critical situation; but Trant, through the misdirection of a superior officer, was not able to reach Sardao before the evening. This event rendering the position of Busaco no longer tenable, Lord Wellington recrossed the Mondego, and marching for Coimbra by a more direct route than that which his adversary had taken, reached it on the 30th. Here he destroyed the magazines, lest they should fall into the hands of the enemy; and ordering his advanced-guard to remain till the inhabitants had removed their most precious effects, he continued his retreat in admirable order by Pombal, Leiria, and Alcobaca, to an impregnable position near Torres Vedras, where he arrived on the 9th of October. Lord Wellington is said to have chosen this position during his first campaign in Portugal, as the spot, where, should it be rendered necessary, he would make his last stand for the defence of the country; and, from the commencement of the year, many men had been judiciously employed in augmenting its natural defences, by erecting fortifications at every assailable point.

The French entered Coimbra on the 1st of October, when a smart engagement took place with the English rear-guard on the banks of the Mondego. Massena found the city (which had contained twenty thousand inhabitants,) almost deserted, as nearly the whole population had fled with the allied army. The Lisbon road was

blocked up with carts, and beasts of burden. Men with downcast looks, and an air of consternation, and women of genteel condition, in tears, and carrying screaming infants, every where met the eye. All the roads from the neighbouring towns presented similar melancholy spectacles. On their arrival at Lisbon, however, these wretched fugitives experienced all that care and attention that their sufferings required; and which a paternal government and their generous compatriots could bestow upon them. People of all ranks at Lisbon received them with open arms. Every unoccupied house was hired by the Regency to accommodate such of those poor emigrants as were unable to pay rent, and large sums were contributed for their support. The British nation also, ever ready to sympathise with the distressed of every country and climate, raised by voluntary subscriptions nearly 100,000*l.* and a similar sum was voted for their relief by the British House of Commons. The sum was judiciously expended in the purchase and freightage of such articles as were most immediately wanted by the miserable sufferers.

Massena seemed now persuaded that the English were in full flight to their ships, that Portugal was conquered, and that he had little more to do than advance to Lisbon, where he hoped to bring his antagonist to battle during the confusion of embarkation. Judging by the ardour and energy which had marked Lord Wellington's former con-

duct, he did not conceive that the British General could have patience still to persevere in the Fabian system of warfare, which he had pursued during the preceding part of the campaign. Deceived by these erroneous views, he placed his sick and wounded in two intrenched camps at Coimbra, with a guard of only three thousand five hundred men, though twenty thousand Portuguese militia were in his rear; and he followed hard at the heels of the allies, between whose rear-guard and the French cavalry there was daily skirmishing. The activity of Colonel Trant soon caused Massena to regret his want of precaution. Frustrated in his first attempt to protect Coimbra, he now resolved on attacking the detachment of the enemy left in that city; and being disappointed in his hopes of forming a junction with the corps of General Millar and Colonel Wilson, he undertook this gallant exploit with his own division alone. He marched on the 6th of October, and near Fornos, fell in with a detachment of the enemy, whom he speedily routed. He then ordered his cavalry to advance at a gallop, cross the bridge over the Mondego, and take post on the Lisbon road, in order to cut off the communication between the French army and the garrison. The Portuguese infantry, in the mean time, forced their way into the city, where the garrison made a vigorous resistance for about an hour, and then five thousand men surrendered at discretion. Horrible cruelties had been perpetrated by the

French on the miserable remnant of the population of Coimbra. Women were violated, many of the aged and defenceless inhabitants were slaughtered, and "nothing," said Colonel Trant, "could exceed the state of misery in which he found that city. The French, after their dreadful outrages upon the people, had ransacked every house and church, and public building; in pure wantonness they had set fire to some, and they had heaped up in the streets in the greatest disorder, all the provisions that the army could not carry with it." The sight of these sufferings roused the Portuguese militia and armed peasantry almost to madness. Twice they broke through the restraints of discipline, and they would have taken ample vengeance by the massacre of the prisoners, but for the respect they entertained for their commander. Apprehensive that nothing but his own presence could preserve them from the fury of the enraged soldiery, that brave officer accompanied his prisoners in person to Oporto. The re-capture of Coimbra was materially injurious to the further operations of the French army, as they had no longer a strong garrison in their rear, to collect provisions, and check the movements of the Portuguese militia.

In the mean time Massena continued his pursuit for eleven days, till he was suddenly checked in his career, on the 14th, by the appearance of the formidable lines of Torres Vedras, where Lord Wellington had determined to make his final

stand. This celebrated position consisted of a line of fortified heights, extending from Alhandra on the Tagus to Torres Vedras, about thirty miles from Lisbon, and from thence to the mouth of the Sissandro. Behind these, two other lines extended from Ericeyra and Mafra on the sea to the Tagus, on which were planted a great number of heavy guns. Redoubts were also erected at Peniche, Obidos, and other places, and many of the hills were fortified. On the left of the position, the whole of the coast from Vimiera to the Tagus was studded with redoubts, mounted with heavy artillery. Mines had also been formed in various places, which were ready to spring; and the whole country, from Lisbon almost to the Mondego, appeared like one fortification in the form of a crescent. On the right, the banks of the Tagus from Sacaven upwards were flanked by British frigates and gun-boats, while a battalion of British seamen was formed to serve on shore in defending the fortifications.\* Lord Wellington had his head-quarters at Quinta de Pero Negro, near Encharadas. Marshal Beresford was at Sobral. General Hill commanded on the right at Alhandra,

\* The town of Alhandra having been deserted by the inhabitants, the seamen had it to themselves, and during the intervals of duty they were frequently to be seen smoking and drinking in the open streets, seated in antique chairs belonging to the more wealthy inhabitants, and exhibiting all the gaiety and eccentricity of their character.

and General Picton on the left at Torres Vedras. The advanced-guard under General Leith was at Ribaldeira; and the Lusitanian Legion, commanded by Baron Eben, was stationed at Runa, in sight of the French camp. Within the lines had been collected all the produce of the country through which the allies had retreated; and, having Lisbon in their rear, the troops could be supplied with every thing of which they stood in need.\*

*\* Abstract of the Number of GUNS and MEN employed in the Lines of TORRES VEDRAS, &c. 1810.*

#### FIRST LINE.

From Ulandra to the Valley of Callendriz—6 works, 13 twelve pounders; these were to be considered as mere open batteries.

To shut the road through the Valley of Callendriz—2 works, 400 infantry, 6 twelve pounders.

From the Valley of Callendriz to the Valley of Sobral—5 works, 1220 infantry, 8 twelve pounders, 7 nine pounders.

Heights of Sobral de Monte-Grace—4 works, 2600 infantry, 3 five-and-a-half-inch howitzers, 18 twelve pounders, 10 nine pounders, 9 six pounders.

Sierra de St. Aguda—2 works, 500 infantry, 4 twelve pounders, 3 nine pounders.

Torres Vedras—9 works, 3500 infantry, 3 five-and-a-half inch howitzers, 15 twelve pounders, 18 nine pounders, 6 six pounders.

Envara de Cavahieras—2 works, 550 infantry, 3 twelve pounders, 4 nine pounders.

From Ponte de Ral to St. Pedro de Coriara—3 works, 970 infantry, 6 twelve pounders, 5 nine pounders.

Total, First Line—32 works, 10,040 infantry, 6 five-and-a-half-inch howitzers, 72 twelve pounders, 47 nine pounders, 15 six pounders.

#### SECOND LINE.

From the Tagus to the Caya de Pastilla—10 works, 2560 infantry, 29 twelve pounders, 18 nine pounders.

Pass of Bucellas—5 works, 10 twelve pounders, 4 nine pounders.

Redoubt to cover the Retreat—1 work, 200 infantry, 2 twelve pounders.

Pass of Facinal—3 works, 460 infantry, 6 twelve pounders, 2 nine pounders.

Pass of Mozambique—10 works, 2110 infantry, 12 twelve pounders, 12 nine pounders.

Covering road from Massa to ditto.—12 works, 3870 infantry, 25 twelve pounders, 16 nine pounders.

Pass to Massa—14 works, 3650 infantry, 30 twelve pounders, 13 nine pounders.

Between Massa and the sea, First Line—7 works, 1770 infantry, 20 twelve pounders.

In front of these impenetrable lines the French army lay inactive for a month; and Massena, abandoning all idea of attacking a position so extremely strong by nature, and rendered still more formidable by all the resources of military skill, seemed only solicitous to provide for the security and subsistence of his army, which he placed in an extensive line of cantonments, in

Ditto, Second Line—3 works, 360 infantry, 7 twelve pounders.

Total, Second Line—85 works, 15,400 infantry, 141 twelve pounders, 65 nine pounders.

To cover the embarkation at St. Julien's—11 works, 3660 infantry, 6 five-and-a-half-inch howitzers, 20 twenty four pounders, 48 twelve pounders, 9 nine pounders, 6 six pounders.

Grand Total—107 works, 29,490 infantry, 12 five-and a-half-inch howitzers, 20 twenty-four pounders, 268 twelve pounders, 121 nine pounders; 21 six-pounders—Total of cannon—436.

The remainder of the army was employed in keeping up the communication between the Forts and the Reserve.

Lieutenant-Colonel Jones, who published journals of the sieges undertaken by the Allies in Spain in 1811 and 1812, says, that the lines by which Lord Wellington thus covered Lisbon formed the finest specimen of a fortified position that was ever exhibited. Mountains were made the prominent points: all the approaches were guarded by batteries; inundations were formed to increase the difficulty of access: old roads were destroyed, and others made, so as to quicken very considerably the means of communication; and these roads were secured by works which could not be reduced without artillery. The peninsular situation of the whole position precluded the possibility of manœuvring on the flanks, cutting off the supplies, or getting in the rear; and the ramifications of a mountain nearly reaching the works in the front, obstructed the movements of the enemy, and gave to the defenders an advantage which rendered them equal to twice the number of assailants.

front of the allies, in an oblique direction from the sea to the Tagus. His centre was at Sobral, his right at Otta and Villa Nova, and the left at Villa Franca. Alcoentre was occupied by a division of dragoons, for covering his right flank from the attacks of the British cavalry at Sissandro. The enemy were, however, soon driven from Villa Franca, by a thousand British seamen and marines, under the command of Lieutenant Berkeley. His quarters, which were confined on one side by the Tagus, were straitened on the north by the Portuguese militia. Silveira occupied the roads from Guarda to Almeida. Colonel Trant was at Coimbra. Brigadier-General Wilson, after taking three hundred and fifty French waggon-drivers, employed in collecting provisions, occupied the road between Coimbra and Leyria; and the British cavalry, with the Portuguese garrisons of Peniche and Obidos, carried on such an incessant warfare on the rear and the right of the enemy, that Massena's army could not be said to possess any part of the Portuguese territory, but the spot on which they were posted.

The allies enjoyed the greatest tranquillity and comfort within their fortifications, while the French remained at the foot of the lines of Torres Vedras, patiently suffering every privation, with the hope of reducing their enemies to despair. They vainly imagined that the inhabitants of the surrounding country, shut up as they were with

the population of the capital in a narrow and sterile piece of ground, would speedily starve the British army, and compel them to fight or re-embark; but they seem to have forgotten that they had the ocean behind them, by which their wants might be supplied from both hemispheres. Massena soon found his own army in the very situation to which he had hoped to reduce his adversaries. It was necessary to employ no less than six thousand men continually, in searching for provisions and ammunition. The principal supplies were derived from the stores which the farmers had buried, and the French soldiers were such experienced depredators, that they had a regular system for discovering these secret hoards. A hammer and small saw formed an essential part of every soldier's baggage, with which he broke open any piece of furniture which was suspected of containing treasure. All new masonry was closely examined; and where the cellar or ground seemed uneven, it was dug up. Water was sometimes poured upon the ground, and if the earth appeared to absorb it faster in one place than in another it was broken up. During the progress of these researches, the eyes of some of the party were constantly fixed on the countenance of the owner, that they might judge by its changes where his property was concealed. They found wheat and millet for some time; but when these were exhausted they lived on horned cattle, dried grapes, and other fruit, or vegetables,—and about

the beginning of November, the French soldiers began to eat the flesh of horses and mules.\*

Skirmishes frequently took place on the flanks and in the rear of the enemy's encampment, in one of which General St. Croix was killed by a cannon-shot from the English boats; but in the front of the two armies the most profound tranquillity reigned. The picquets on both sides became so familiar, that they sometimes drank wine together, and occasional humanities tended to soften the horrors of war.† Sickness, dearth, and desertion were daily thinning the ranks of the French army, and Massena made several attempts to enlarge his quarters, by crossing the Tagus, all the bridges of which had been broken down, and getting into Lower Estramadura and Alentejo,

\* About this period the following placard was posted up in a conspicuous part of the French camp—"A French soldier should have the heart of a lion, the stomach of a mouse, and the humanity of a brute."

† Some French soldiers in front of the picquet of the 92d regiment had a bullock which they were about to kill for their dinners; the animal having escaped into the neutral ground, was shot by the British, and fell within their lines. While the soldiers were cutting up their prize, a flag of truce was sent in by the French officer, begging part of the beef; remarking, at the same time, that he knew the English were *too generous* to deprive his men of the only provisions they had for the day. The messenger was sent back with half of the beef, several loaves of white bread, and a bottle of rum.

which had been hitherto untouched. But the whole country was up in arms against him; General Fane was stationed with a considerable force to repel every attempt of this nature; and their foraging parties were kept in check by the fortress of Abrantes and the river Zezere. Lord Wellington, having been reinforced by nine or ten thousand men under the Marquis de Romana, and some regiments from England, was now enabled to use increased exertions to frustrate the projects of the enemy.

After continuing a month before the British lines, Massena, finding the country which he occupied entirely exhausted, and that his army, being greatly thinned by various causes, could not maintain its ground in Portugal without considerable reinforcements, resolved to fall back on Santarem, which commanded the most fertile parts of Estremadura, and thus secure a retreat into Spain. This movement was commenced in the night of the 14th of November, and was conducted in so able a manner, that though the advanced guard of the allies pursued on the following day, not more than four hundred prisoners were taken from the enemy. The new position of the French formed a triangle, of which Santarem and the Tagus were the base, the Zezere one of the legs, and a chain of mountains the other. Bridges were thrown across the Zezere, and a body of troops was stationed at Punhete, which was fortified. Their cavalry,

amounting to nine or ten thousand, were placed in cantonments along the right bank of the Tagus towards Upper Beira, and redoubts were constructed at various points on the same side of the river. By these means Massena greatly enlarged the circle on which he depended for subsistence, and he was much more conveniently situated to receive the reinforcements which he expected under Drouet and Gardanne, and from the armies of Soult and Mortier.

Apprehensive that the enemy had made this movement with a view of crossing the Tagus, Lord Wellington sent General Hill across the river to watch his motions. He advanced with the rest of his army on the 19th to the Rio Major, opposite Santarem, and fixed his head-quarters at Cartaxo. His advanced-posts were placed between the Rio Major and the lines of Torres Vedras, to which he had it in his power to retire should the French be enabled to advance against him with superior forces. The activity and vigilance of the British General was at this time the universal subject of encomium. He constantly slept in his clothes, rose every morning at four o'clock, and at five he visited his advanced posts. This noble example excited a spirit of emulation not only in the army but throughout this quarter of the country that has never been surpassed. All the population to the gates of Lisbon was in arms. That city was garrisoned by marines from the

British fleet, the former garrison having been sent to reinforce the army. To guard against the advance of the enemy from Almeida to Lisbon, great fortifications were raised on the south of the Tagus, and the peninsula, formed by a small bay at Moita, near Aldea Gallega, on the Tagus, and the bay of St. Ubes, at Settuval, was cut off from the French by a double line of fortifications, armed with heavy artillery.

The strength of the position which Massena had so judiciously chosen, securing him from any apprehension of attack, he was enabled to throw two bridges over the Zezere, and occupy both banks of that river with a division of infantry, which watched Abrantes, and protected the foraging parties in Upper Estremadura. In the month of December, Gardanne's and Drouet's divisions joined his army, after sustaining on their march many sharp conflicts with the Portuguese militia, under Silveira, Bacellar, and Wilson. These two bodies added to the French army a reinforcement of about seventeen thousand men, and they were now enabled to occupy the country between the sea and the Tagus, towards Punhete and Santarem. During the remainder of the year the French were actively employed in building boats at Punhete, to throw a bridge over the Tagus, and the British were equally occupied in erecting strong batteries, and making various other preparations to oppose the passage of the river. The divisions of Hill, Beresford, Fane,

and Erskine were stationed on the left bank, while the remainder of the army was in cantonments on the right. Sir Brent Spencer and Cameron were at Cartaxo; Crawford between that place and Santarem; Picton at Torres Vedras; Cole at Azambujo; Campbell at Alenquer; and Leith at Alcoentre. Such were the relative positions of the two armies at the close of the year. The fate of Portugal still remained undecided; but the success which had hitherto attended the admirable system, opposed by Lord Wellington to the progress of the most powerful army which had yet advanced to the conquest of that country, excited the most sanguine hopes of its final deliverance.



\* The Facts detailed in this Volume have been derived from Doctor Neale's and Mr. Moore's Narratives of the Campaign of Sir John Moore in Spain.—Elliot on the Defence of Portugal.—Elliott's Memoirs of Wellington.—Rocca's Memoirs of the Wars of the French in Spain.—Naval and Military Chronicles.—Military Panorama.—Annual Register.—Edinburgh Annual Register.—Gazettes, French Bulletins, and other Official Papers.—Hargrove's Account of the Expedition to Walcheren.—Parliamentary Debates, &c. &c.

END OF THE NINTH VOLUME.

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